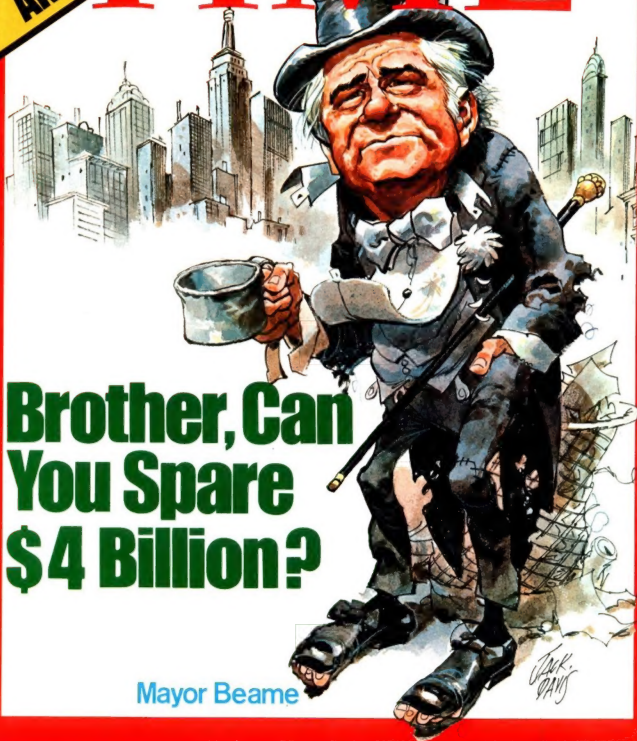


75 CENTS

OCTOBER 20, 1973

NEW YORK
AND AMERICA

TIME



Brother, Can
You Spare
\$4 Billion?

Mayor Beame

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BUREAU CHIEF BARRETT, GAUGER

WARNER & MERRICK

A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER



LOCAL BOOSTER

As New York City's desperate leaders last week prayed for billions of federal dollars to stave off financial ruin, New York Bureau Chief Laurence Barrett entered his seventh month of directing coverage of his home town's woes. The assignment took him over familiar ground, born and raised in The Bronx, Barrett covered city hall for the now defunct *Herald Tribune* from 1959 to 1962. Many of the city officials he knew on his old beat remain in high positions in city government. One of them, Mayor Abraham Beame, was director of New York's budget when Barrett first met him. "When I was growing up here and later covering city government," Barrett recalls, "New York was a proud town, an 'anything is possible' kind of place. No one was thinking about the unthinkable—that New York would be unable to pay its bills." Still, the city's current agony has an element of *déjà vu*: In 1965, when Beame was losing his first mayoralty race to John

Lindsay, Barrett published his first and only novel, *The Mayor of New York*. Its protagonist, Barrett's fictional mayor, was forced from office after proposing an unsuccessful master plan to save his financially hard-pressed city.

Barrett's reporting on the roots of the city's current crisis was supplemented by Correspondents Marcia Gauger and Robert Parker, who analyzed the city's most expensive programs—welfare and hospitals. Around the U.S., correspondents reported on the shivers that New York's threatened bankruptcy is sending through national financial markets. Says Associate Editor Frank Merrick, who catalogued the effects on other cities trying to borrow in order to meet expenses: "There's a virtual fruit basket of problems. The rot of the Big Apple could spoil a whole bunch of cities." From Washington, Correspondents David Beckwith and John Stacks cabled reports on the debate over extending federal aid, while Reporter-Researchers Allan Hill and Maria Dorion combed the dense and often deceptive budgetary studies that measure the city's economic plight. Senior Editor Marshall Loeb edited the cover package. Associate Editor Edwin Warner, who has written most of our previous New York crisis stories, outlined long-range reforms to keep the city solvent. Past chairman of his Upper West Side block association, Warner comments: "Part of the solution will come from New Yorkers who have learned to cope with the city's problems by working to improve their own neighborhoods."

Ralph P. Davidson

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Grim Patty, Grinning Patty

To the Editors:

The cover of TIME [Sept. 29] shows a grim-faced picture of Patty Hearst, and across it the word APPREHENDED.

Chances are, after the trial and sentencing you will be able to show a grinning Patty with a clenched fist, and across it the word SUSPENDED.

Willard P. Farrell
Methuen, Mass.

With all the negative publicity centering on Patty Hearst, I find it difficult to believe she can get a fair and impartial trial.

Michael C. Shaw
Mays Landing, N.J.



Quick! Somebody give her a spanking before she gets away!

Ken Noble
San Antonio

Let's see if our American system of Government has once and for all succumbed to the fact that "Them that has, gets off."

Roger C. Burton
Houston

I can see a yellow ribbon around the bars on Patty Hearst's Alameda County jail cell, but a dozen yellow roses from the FBI stretches my imagination.

Sharen Dugas
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

Why make a "goddess" out of this girl? Is it because she is rich? If she deserves to be punished, punish her; don't feed her ego.

Anthony Traina
Paterson, N.J.

Once again TIME has proved to be a source of indispensable information. Now we know Patty Hearst came to

court braless in a brown outfit with clogs, and her mother's traveling attire includes black dress, pearls and an alligator bag.

However, other crucial questions remain unanswered. Did William Harris wear underclothes during his court appearance? What knot does Mr. Hearst favor for his necktie?

Gary Reiness
Cambridge, Mass.

One grows weary of hiding magazines from one's children.

Mrs. Barbara Weaver
Stanhope, N.J.

Flipped Lib

The two would-be assassins of President Ford [Sept. 29] apparently are women who have flipped their libs.

Robert O. Hunt
Sunrise, Fla.

Squeaky Fromme and Sara Moore both suffer from the Charlotte Corday complex.

The irony is that President Ford is no Marat, and there is no revolution in America.

David D. Fong
Kirkland, Wash.

Apparently TIME still cannot understand that the destruction of values inherent in the conduct of a war illegally fought and immorally prosecuted is what led to the alienation of so many young people.

A whole generation reacted to official amorality by distrusting and rejecting all authority, legal or moral.

Stanley K. Sheinbaum
Los Angeles

No Martyrs Needed

I suggest, in opposition to President Ford's brave talk [Oct. 6], that this country needs a live President more than any more dead martyrs.

Ronald H. Dallas
La Palma, Calif.

President Ford thinks the American people have a right to see him and shake his hand. Don't we also have the right not to go through another presidential assassination?

Anita E. Kitch
Lancaster, Pa.

The most Mr. Gerald Ford can be getting from these trips is an ego boost. There cannot possibly be any meaningful exchange with "the people," considering the circumstances under which

any President must travel these days. Why doesn't he stay home and mind the store? Besides, if we use up Presidents fast enough, it might become an appointive office. I should like to vote for one next time.

Elizabeth R. Patino
Chicago

I might enjoy dangling from a moving plane or crossing Niagara Falls on a tightrope, but if I were the father of a large family, I think I'd eschew such pleasure.

Virginia Joki
Bridgewater, Mass.

To hear that Miss Moore had her first handgun taken and within 24 hours was able to purchase another handgun is unbelievable!

Georgene H. Campion, President
The Committee for Hand Gun Control
Chicago

Dog House

Doesn't Mr. President know he is supposed to set a good example for Americans?

While unwanted animals are being put to sleep all over America every day, his dog is home having nine planned puppies by a champion retriever [Sept. 29] that has fathered no fewer than 410 pups already.

Anne Anderson
Syracuse

Life in San Clemente

What was the purpose of treating us to those photographs of the Nixons [Sept. 29] living it up like royalty on their estate in San Clemente? Were you just enjoying needling us, the public, who have paid for so much of it with our hard-earned taxes? Or were you, commendably, presenting proof that the man is perfectly healthy and fully capable of responding to subpoenas to appear in the courts?

Margaret Roberts
Santa Barbara, Calif.

Thank you for the photographs of the Nixons at San Clemente.

It's a pleasure to see them at peace, and also to read an article in TIME containing no derogatory reference to either Richard or Pat Nixon.


Mrs. R. Spencer Kremin
North Syracuse, N.Y.

City Game

San Antonio is substandard [Sept. 29]? Gary, Ind., is adequate? Who is kidding whom?

Earl Meech
San Antonio

If Rochester, Hartford, Buffalo, Albany, Washington, Boston, Cleveland and Toledo are considered so wonderful,



**"It won't be long
and all our tanks
may be empty."**

Oil shortage. Energy crisis. Chilling realities? Half truths? Or myths? Which? There are arguments to support any view.

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But many people view this apparent abundance as a mirage. A tragically false hope. They fear the world's oil and gas may be gone in our children's time. Priced way beyond today's levels long before. Even our nuclear fuels, they fear, might not last until the end of the century.

Nobody doubts oil and gas supplies are finite. Even at curtailed consumption rates they will be gone one day, as fuels, chemicals, lubricants. But there are three things we can do. First, we can slow our energy use through conservation. An estimated 30% of all energy used in the U.S. today is wasted.

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how come we have so many refugees from those cities seeking sanctuary out here in Arizona?

Edgar B. Heylman
Tucson, Ariz

There is more to the quality of life than motherhood and apple pie. Las Vegas has earned its place in the elite 65

Mike Schaefer
Las Vegas

No CIA Dabbling

Your assertion that the CIA was "dabbling in Chilean politics" (Sept. 29) is outrageously misleading. The CIA is no amateur group, but a highly professional (and dangerous) organization that devoted millions of dollars and tremendous manpower toward the overthrow of the popularly elected Allende government without the knowledge of the American people. The CIA must come under direct congressional supervision

James Brooke
New Haven, Conn

If Otis Pike and his committee have not "released" anything that "jeopardizes national security," could he, or TIME, explain what the hell is left to publish about our security?

Ricardo Chirinos Mondolfi
Rio de Janeiro

Not Gun-Shy

In your article on guns, "No Chance for Quick Relief" (Oct. 6), you refer to the power of the National Rifle Association. You imply that CBS bowed to pressures from the N.R.A. for a follow-up broadcast to *Guns of Autumn*, and that is completely erroneous.

Echoes of the Guns of Autumn was announced prior to the broadcast of *Guns of Autumn* and was devoted to the entire controversy surrounding the documentary. *Echoes* focused on the pressures that were put on CBS News, would-be sponsors and others, in an attempt to prevent *Guns of Autumn* from being televised, as well as reactions to the broadcast, both pro and con, before, during and after its presentation.

George Hoover, Director
Information Services
CBS News, New York City

Growing Up with Playboy

The monthly skin-magazine trade will continue to thrive (Sept. 22). There is little else remaining for the 18- to 34-year-old male, at least in the Midwest. Couples depicted in *Playboy* are anxious to grow old, while the real-life couples I've met are hurrying to grow old.

Charles C. Topp
Fond du Lac, Wis

Address Letters to TIME, Time & Life Building,
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Venita has known a lot of suffering.



Venita is a shy little girl with big, dark eyes. You can see by her wistful expression that she has known much suffering in her short life in India.

She hardly remembers her parents. Her mother was in ill health when Venita was born. She died when Venita was only two years old.

Her father earned very little and lived in one room in a tenement in Delhi. He was unable to support and care for the frail little girl. He asked a children's Home, affiliated with the Christian Children's Fund, to take care of his daughter.

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TIME

AMERICAN NOTES

Heraldic Wing-Lift

John Nance Garner, the man who compared the nation's second highest office to a pitcher of warm spit, was the first Vice President to have an official flag. A decade later in 1948, the vice presidency had become no more attractive a job, but at least it got its own seal too. In its center was a rather sickly droop-winged eagle, clutching one lonely arrow in its left talon. So the Veeep's symbol stood, or sagged, for 27 years.

Enter Nelson Rockefeller. The new Vice President publicly complained that the seal was "aesthetically very weak." In private, he was heard to describe his eagle of office as a "wounded partridge." Last winter Rocky asked the experts at the Army's Institute of Heraldry to give the vice presidential bird a little pizzazz. They lifted its wings, gave it 13 new arrows and drew in some clouds, stars and dotted lines over its head to signify "radiating glory." Last week the new seal was made official by a White House executive order that was replete with heraldic jargon: "Paleways of 13 pieces argent and gules, a chief azure upon the breast of an American eagle displayed holding in his dexter talon an olive branch proper and in his sinister a bundle of 13 arrows gray." Rockefeller and his assistants were pleased. Said one aide: "This is an eagle that can fly." And just how high? Some astute seal watchers were quick to note that except for the absence of a ringlet of stars around the rim, the new vice presidential seal looked very much like the President's.



No Prime Time for Ford

Broadcasters have rarely questioned the right of a Chief Executive to request access to the audience of 20 million Americans who watch television on any given evening. But last week the two leading networks turned down a request by the White House for live coverage of President Ford's 20-minute prime-time address on tax and spending policy. While ABC agreed to the request—which came on three hours' notice—CBS and NBC both said no. They observed that because the President is a declared candidate for re-election, they could be required under the Communications Act to furnish equal time to other candidates seeking the Republican nomination. CBS News President Richard Salant explained that his network would be will-

ing to accept the risks created by the equal-time rule only "in circumstances of national emergencies or urgent presidential announcements." An NBC spokesman said that his network believed that only presidential speeches dealing with "international events affecting the national security" could be broadcast without equal-time liabilities.

But were the two networks being a bit disingenuous? "As CBS and NBC know," said White House Press Secretary Ron Nessen, "the FCC exempts from so-called equal-time regulations on-the-spot coverage of bona fide news events." Although the President's speech certainly had political impact (see page 19), it was nevertheless a significant public event. Possibly the networks were trying to underscore their distaste for the equal-time rule by drawing attention to the fact that airing an address as newsworthy as the President's poses risks for broadcasters. In opposing the rule, the networks may well have a valid point, but blacking out the President seems to be a particularly extreme way to make it.

Shelving the Safeguard

Next to the Viet Nam War itself, nothing stirred popular passions more in the late 1960s than the national debate over a massive investment in an anti-ballistic missile, better known as the ABM. Shouting "No bombs in the backyard!" mothers, scholars and other citizens marched in protest against Lyndon Johnson's plan to install nuclear-tipped Sentinel ABMs at twelve sites around the country. The furor went on even after Richard Nixon changed the ABM's name to Safeguard and scaled down the project to a "thin" shield protecting only a few cities from attack by ICBMs. The issue began to fade after the U.S. and the Soviet Union agreed, in the 1972 accord on strategic arms limitation, to limit themselves to just two ABM installations apiece.

Now the ABM itself seems about to disappear. After the SALT agreement, the Pentagon began work on a Safeguard site near Grand Forks, N. Dak., but Congress decided that a second installation at Washington, D.C., was not worth the cost. Last year, Nixon and Soviet Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev reduced the ABM limit to one site each.

Now it turns out that the Safeguard is simply not up to stopping the Soviet SS-19, a new missile that is able to steer a maddeningly serpentine course toward a target. Thus when the House recently acted on an Army request for \$85.3 million for operating the completed Grand Forks site for a year, it voted instead to provide \$45.3 million to close up the \$5.7 billion installation for good.



CITIES/COVER STORY



HOW TO SAVE NEW YORK

What is a citizen of depressed Detroit, booming Houston or bucolic Sauk Centre, Minn., to make of the phenomenon of New York City? A visitor is immediately struck by the signs of New York's unsurpassed wealth: majestic skyscrapers thrusting boldly into the air, great ships busily plying its waters, expensive limousines hurtling down its avenues, well-dressed people rushing along Wall Street, Fifth Avenue and the other storied thoroughfares. These signs of affluence symbolize the city's position as the capital of American finance and commerce. All the more incredible, then, that the New York City government is broke.

Moreover, it became abundantly clear last week that without some form of emergency federal assistance, New York will go into default by Christmas and quite possibly earlier—meaning that the city will have to postpone paying off its bills and loans. Said Investment Banker Felix Rohatyn, chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corp.: "The dikes are crumbling and we're running out of fingers." Added New York Governor Hugh Carey: "We have done all that we can to help New York City. Our resources as a state are stretched to the limit."

The basic question was whether the Federal Government would act to prevent default—and if so, how and when. The question involved many factors: the way the rest of the country feels about New York; its reputation as the very symbol of lavish welfare spending; excessive expectations and inept management. Much of the country believes that New York is simply asking hard-working Americans hundreds of miles away to go bail for the city's profligacy. Many New Yorkers in turn believe that much of their trouble has been imposed on them by the country, through welfare legislation and Great Society programs that the city could not control. In addition to suffering the ailments of all big, old U.S. cities, New York has many special problems: it is a magnet for poor immigrants and rural people; it has an unusually large number of unemployed or otherwise dependent citizens and tax-exempt institutions; it also has huge numbers of commuters—many from neighboring states—who do not carry a full tax load.

Obviously, New York is a victim of both outside events and a massive misrule that started long before Mayor Abraham Beame came to office.

It is so far gone that reform may no longer be possible without serious social unrest. Yet the immediate problem is what its default might do to the rest of the country. Shock waves from the city's financial collapse could hurt the national and perhaps even the world economies.

The state of New York, having reluctantly moved to lend money to the city, was itself in serious trouble. New York City and state bonds account for about 19% of the \$200 billion state and municipal notes and bonds in circulation. As a result, a double default could well undermine investors' confidence in the market, causing them to shun the bonds of many other cities, states, countries and local authorities, imperiling their ability to borrow money. That could lead to their defaults too, and more business failures and higher unemployment. The nation's economic recovery could be set back, and overseas financial markets might be disrupted.

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt told President Ford that the New York crisis might have a domino effect that would have a dire impact on Europe's finances. Doubts about the city's ability to meet its obligations caused the dollar to slide on exchange markets. Many Europeans have a hard time understanding the complex American system of federal, state and local governments. A great number of European cities are financed largely by central governments; thus people abroad fear that if New York is broke, America must be broke. Indeed, Governor Carey warned Congress at week's end: "I cannot deny that there is a contagion in New York which is about to sweep across the nation. Don't kill us because we are ill."

The symptoms of New York's illness are all too obvious. The city's expense budget has soared to \$12.3 billion this fiscal year—more than twice as high as in the late 1960s. The deficit this year will be at least \$800 million. But the toughest problem is that, to pay off some of the accumulated deficits of earlier years and meet other expenses, New York must raise some \$4 billion by June 30, the end of the fiscal year.

The troubles became apparent last

THE NATION

winter when the city fell so deeply into debt that it could not borrow the hundreds of millions of dollars it needs each month to meet expenses. In exchange for help, the state put the city into the hands of businessmen and investment bankers; they set up the Municipal Assistance Corp. (Big Mac) to do the city's borrowing and the Emergency Financial Control Board to oversee the city's spending. To avoid a default last month, the legislature in Albany approved a complex financing plan; it amounted to using the state's credit to help the city raise \$2.3 billion to tide it over until December. But the intertwining of state and city credit caused investors to lose confidence in both governments, even though the state is basically sound. Prices for both state and most Big Mac securities dropped precipitously, raising a too real possibility that the state might have to default along with the city (TIME, Oct. 13). Thus the latest crisis erupted because none of the prestidigitator could persuade private investors to touch the securities of either the state or the city.

Now seven quasi-independent state agencies—including the Dormitory Authority and the Housing Finance Agency—are in danger of defaulting unless they can raise a total of \$1.5 billion by June 30. Beginning in March, the state government will cast about for ways to sell some \$4 billion in short-term notes, primarily to supply a variety of subsidies to local governments for welfare, school costs and other services. One high-risk proposal is to avoid the bond market by selling the notes directly to the state's employee pension funds. State Comptroller Arthur Levitt prudently opposes the move.

Largely because of New York's trauma, the municipal-bond markets are in turmoil. Rates on the tax-free securities have jumped almost one percentage point in the past year, costing states and municipalities hundreds of millions of dollars. In recent weeks, states as varied as Massachusetts and Georgia and cities as disparate as Buffalo, Atlanta and Newark have been forced to with-

draw bond issues or pay historically high interest rates.

The prospect of an economic domino effect from defaults by the city and state has caused Government officials and financial experts across the country to change their minds about a federal rescue of New York. When members of the American Bankers Association arrived in Manhattan for a convention last week, a New York Times poll found heavy opposition to a federal bailout. But the bankers' resistance softened after speeches on the city's crisis from, among others, Mayor Beame, Carey, Rohatyn and Brenton Harries, president of Standard & Poor's Corp., the investment-research firm. Harries warned that civil disorder might follow a default and added: "As unpalatable as the specter of federal intervention is, the social and economic consequences of default of the proportions we are facing clearly make it the lesser of two evils."

Chicago Mayor Richard Daley told TIME that even though he blames New York's crisis on its management, the Government cannot let the city go broke. He added: "After all the foreign aid that we've sent abroad and

the billions that we spent in Viet Nam, I don't see why Washington can't help out New York." Houston Mayor Fred Hofheinz believes that "cities that are living within their means should not have to pay taxes to bail out cities that are not fiscally responsible." Still, he reluctantly favors federal help for New York because the city "has been forced to solve problems created elsewhere in many cases."

The Ford Administration has opposed federal help, arguing that the effects of a default would be short-lived and limited. Administration officials contend that some 75 banks around the country hold New York City debt equal to 50% or more of their net worth, and only about half of them would be in serious danger if the city defaulted. The Federal Reserve Board has promised to make loans to tide these banks over in case of a default. Last week, however, there were some signs that the Administration might be wavering. Vice President Nelson Rockefeller recommended that Congress consider creating a "temporary bridge" to relieve the financial pressures on the city while it takes steps to win back investors' confidence. He gave no details but indicated that the bridge might somehow aim to help con-



WELFARE CLIENTS WAITING TO GET ASSISTANCE IN NEW YORK OFFICE



vert the city's \$4.9 billion in short-term debt into long-term bonds.

Similarly, Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, obliquely suggested that Congress draft a bailout program. He carefully noted to the Joint Economic Committee that the Federal Reserve lacks authority to help New York; only Congress can do that. Somewhat contradictorily, he continued to maintain that "the damage stemming from a prospective default is likely to be short-lived." But under questioning, he hedged and said that a default could trigger a recession. Added Burns: "If I were a member of Congress and a vote were taken today, I'd vote against help for the city. How I would feel two weeks from now, I cannot say." He suggested

GARBAGE BURNING TO PROTEST SERVICE CUTS DURING A SANITATION MEN'S STRIKE

that the best way to help New York would be a federal guarantee of city bonds. If Congress decides to act, Burns urged that it do so quickly because "the markets do not thrive on uncertainty."

Next day Treasury Secretary William Simon insisted to the Senate Banking Committee that the Administration still opposes helping New York. But Simon, like Burns, had ready advice for the committee in case "Congress, in its wisdom, determines to do something." Simon recommended that he be put in charge of a federal bailout "to determine that the city was irrevocably and unalterably on the path to fiscal responsibility before any aid could be given." He added: "Such aid should be so punitive in its terms and so painful that no other city not facing absolute disaster would think of applying for help."

In his forays around the country,



LITTERED SUBWAY DURING EARLY MORNING RUSH HOUR

bill passed by Congress. The President hedged: "I just am very reluctant to say anything other than no until I see the fine print."

Despite the rising fears, congressional action seems improbable until the crisis grows even worse. At best, New York Senator Jacob Javits hopes that Senate and House committees will have prepared bills by next month. Then, if New York again teeters on the very brink of default, Congress can quickly debate, approve and send to Ford an orderly, well-considered rescue plan.

Opposition to helping New York is chiefly based on arguments that it will set a dangerous precedent. Before he softened his view slightly, Burns, for instance, argued

that if the Government intervenes in the crisis, "self-reliance in our country, which has been diminishing, will be dealt another blow." Said he: "There's now a tendency to run to Washington to solve all of our problems. The free enterprise system involves a certain degree of risk, and we should let that risk be taken and the consequences as well."

Congress is least likely to approve proposals to loan funds to New York. The approach winning the most support in Congress and among city officials would have the Government guarantee enough Big Mac bonds to keep the city solvent while it undertakes the drastic reforms needed. All of the eight proposals before various congressional committees would require the Governor to give ironclad assurances that the city would balance its budget within three years. The guaranteed bonds would be taxable and, if the city and state defaulted, would be paid out of their allotment of future federal

revenue sharing. Declared Rohatyn: "We're not asking for a handout. Taxpayers elsewhere are not going to be penalized. Quite the opposite; if a federal guarantee is available, other cities will be vaccinated against the virus that has weakened us."

If New York is to get any relief, it must take still stronger and more visible action to prove that it has changed its irresponsible fiscal ways. As Rohatyn put it very early in the crisis, "New York must be perceived as changing its life-style." That has not been the case so far. Said one Big Mac official: "The city has had to be dragged kicking and screaming to do what had to be done." For example, a deferral of a wage increase of up to 6% for city employees was supposed to take effect Sept. 1, but will not begin for most workers until Oct. 11 because of delays in reprogramming computers.

Last week Beame's extraordinary slowness brought him into sharp conflict with the Emergency Fiscal Control Board. He was supposed to deliver details of how and when the city was going to chop the rest of the deficit, year by year. Instead, Beame presented a nine-page outline. Among other things, he proposed to trim thousands of more employees through attrition, continue the wage freeze for two more years, and try to save on equipment purchases, building rentals and capital construction. But to the dismay of the board members, many of them top businessmen, the document was maddeningly vague.

At first the board members were shocked into silence. Then one of them, William Ellinghaus, president of New York Telephone Co., almost shouting demanded of Beame: "When are we going to get specifics? Where are the details? What about the next two years?" Beame quietly asked whether the telephone company can plan ahead for three years. Snapped Ellinghaus: "We can do it for six." After the meeting, Beame told his agency heads to produce



EMERGENCY TREATMENT AT A MUNICIPAL HOSPITAL

President Ford had been asking audiences for a show of hands from those who favored some kind of federal bailout for New York. In Knoxville, Tenn., last week the President asked: "How many in this room would recommend that the Federal Government go in and take care of the financial situation that the city of New York has?" Inevitably, only a few hands were tentatively raised, which the President obviously regarded as evidence that the people support his position. But top Democrats, including Senators Hubert Humphrey and Henry Jackson and Party Chairman Robert Strauss, charged that Ford was trying to punish overwhelmingly Democratic New York and play on the anti-New York sentiments in the country.

Last week the President seemed to alter his position slightly. He told a press conference that he saw no justification for assisting New York and had not yet heard of any bailout plan that would "justify approval by myself." But he did not say flatly that he would veto any

THE NATION

firm proposals for cuts by Oct. 22. He hopes to trim police and fire department budgets by an additional 3% and other departments by up to 8%.

The mayor's austerity plans outraged city union leaders. They had agreed to a partial one-year wage freeze only after Beame agreed last summer not to lay off any more workers except in an extreme emergency. The control board seemed to be forcing him to defer wage increases in the city's labor contracts for another two years. Further, union leaders were upset by the board's rejection of the agreement that ended a five-day teachers' strike last month: the board found the settlement too expensive.

After meeting with Beame, two labor leaders threatened a general strike, which would shut down most public services, paralyze transportation, further diminish investors' confidence and seriously disrupt the city's economy. Said local Teamster President Barry Fein-

so high, borrowed so heavily and taken so long to cut back, the necessary reductions in its life-style will be all the more painful. Every citizen will feel the pinch. Yet cutbacks alone are not the entire answer to the predicament. The city must devise new strategies for survival, new policies that are more suited to the realities. Some of the most urgently needed reforms.

REDUCE PAYROLLS

The fattest place for still more pruning is the city's swollen public payroll—some \$7 billion a year, or 60% of the budget. It has increased almost mindlessly, as if there were a job for everybody at the taxpayer's expense. From 1961 to 1974, even though the city population declined from 7.8 million to 7.5 million, 100,000 people were added to the work force. The total of full-time city employees jumped to some 300,000, nobody knew the exact number because management was so slipshod. In the last

for example, gets four weeks' vacation his first year on the job and quite a bit more free time. If he donates a pint of blood, he is allowed the remainder of the day off to rest up from the ordeal. After three years he earns an average \$17,458. Many city posts now pay much more than comparable jobs in private industry or the Federal Government. A subway coin changer, for example, gets \$229 a week, while a New York bank clerk earns \$164.

City pensions also must be scaled



NEW YORK UNION LEADERS ALBERT SHANKER, VICTOR GOTBAUM & KEN MCFEELEY

"We have given our blood. The unions are bleeding to death."

stein: "We have given our blood. The unions are bleeding to death."

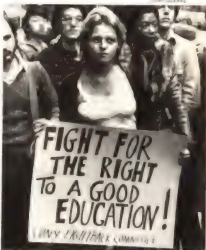
Next day, however, Feinstein and other labor leaders—notably Albert Shanker of the United Federation of Teachers, Victor Gotbaum of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and Ken McFeeley of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association—were talking more calmly. Moreover, while TIME correspondents found that union members were universally unhappy with Beame and his cost-cutting plans, most were not enthusiastic about striking. Explained an adviser to several of the labor leaders: "They are aware that if the police, the firemen and the bridge tenders go out, there could be chaos, there could be deaths. It would be horrible. They don't want that." Even so, many corporate leaders in New York were making emergency plans for ways to stay in business in case of the nightmare of a strike.

Because New York City has lived

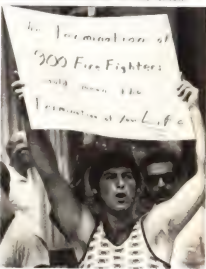
few months of crisis, the Beame administration has been able to shrink the number to 263,000, half through layoffs, the rest by retirements and resignations. But many thousands more will have to go if the city's budget is to be balanced.

Though some desk-bound bureaucrats are beginning to be laid off, a far greater number of lineworkers—police, firemen, teachers—have been dismissed. In an analysis of layoffs up to Sept. 1, City Councilman Henry Stern figured that total personnel costs had been reduced by 5.23% while administrative costs had been trimmed by only 2.27%. Said Stern: "The desk-bound seem to be the hardiest flowers in the urban jungle. Those who give the orders seem to save their own."

City employees will also have to accept very modest pay increases even after the current freeze is lifted. Their wages and perquisites make them generally the best-paid city-government workers in the country. A policeman,



STUDENTS DEMONSTRATING FOR FREE TUITION



FIREMAN PROTESTING AGAINST LAYOFFS

down. They are a legacy of the years of Mayor John Lindsay (1966-1973), who not only spent lavishly but agreed to the fattest municipal union contracts on record. Many city employees who were hired before 1974 can retire at half pay after 20 years on the job; their pensions are based on their last year's salary plus overtime.

A remarkable number of workers, after 19 years of uninspired performance, become virtual dynamos in their

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The Charlie Burch. (Smirnoff and root beer)

A friend of ours recently found himself with some unexpected guests, a bottle of Smirnoff and a supply of root beer. Neither he nor any one present had mixed Smirnoff and root beer before. But the occasion called for a drink, the hour was late and the only place open was a good distance away. They voted to make do with what they had.

Our friend thought the result so surprisingly good that he suggested we try it. We agreed, and we pass the simple formula along, named after its inventor.

In so doing, we have no wish to convert anyone from



plain old root beer when that's what the occasion calls for. Everything in its place, we always say.

To make a Charlie Burch, pour 1½ oz. Smirnoff into a tall glass of ice. Fill with root beer.

Smirnoff
leaves you breathless™

THE NATION

20th as they frantically build up overtime. It is possible for a worker to retire in his early 40s with a \$15,000-a-year pension and then take another job in the prime of his life. Pensions already cost the city \$1 billion a year for funding—and they are considered to be dangerously underfunded. Unless they are trimmed, they will cost \$2 billion a year by 1980.

The city puts yet another \$20 million a year into a separate annuity fund for the uniformed services and the teachers. As if their pensions were not enough, these city workers receive \$1 a day for every day worked until they retire—and that is a luxury that New York can scarcely afford.

INCREASE PRODUCTIVITY

While some New York City workers, notably the firemen, are rated among the best in the country, too many others do not earn their pay. The city's Productivity Council recently reported that in a single division of the parks department there are five supervisors, all charged with much the same responsibilities. The report notes: "Consequently the probability of no one doing a job is as great as having five people do it." Nearly one-third of the 74,393 employees of the board of education are classified as nonpedagogical: they do not teach. Many teachers aspire to administrative ranks where the work is easier, the pay is higher, and bothersome students are remote. Says Mary McLaughlin, a veteran teacher: "If 110 Livingston Street [headquarters of the board of education] were moved to Afghanistan, the classroom teacher would be unaffected."

FORMER MAYOR JOHN LINDSAY & ABE BEAME



Much of the blame for bureaucratic slackness rests with the public-service unions whose rigid rules impair productivity. It takes yards of red tape and constant bickering to shift anyone to another department or category. Only by sweetening fringe benefits three years ago could the city persuade the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association to allow more men to be put on the streets during the high-crime shift from 4 p.m. to midnight.

Though some bus drivers work an eight-hour day, they are paid for eleven. The reason is that they are needed during the city's rush hours but not in between. During the midday break, they are paid time and a half for three hours that they may spend as they please: taking a snooze, going to the movies, tending bar. A more rational solution would be to hire part-time drivers for peak periods, but the Transit Authority claims that this would be even more expensive than paying employees for not working. The part-timers would have to be given all the hefty fringe benefits that the unions have wrested from the city.

Better ways must be found to measure productivity in the city government. Progress has already been made in sanitation. Instead of judging performance by the amount of refuse collected, the city is conducting on-the-spot surveys. Photographers are sent to take pictures of the streets to determine their cleanliness.

The city bureaucracy will probably never be fully productive until it has to face some kind of competition. Says E.S. Savas, who was first deputy city administrator under Mayor Lindsay and is now a professor of public-systems management at Columbia: "There is a myth that government can do a job more cheaply because it doesn't have to make a profit." Private industry, in fact, does many city jobs more efficiently than the public work force. While it costs the city \$45 a ton to pick up garbage, private contractors do it for \$22 a ton in San Francisco, \$19 a ton in Boston and \$18 a ton in Minneapolis. Their incentives are far greater since the more refuse they collect, the more they are paid. City sanitation men receive the same pay no matter how much or little work they do.

The problem is not public v. private," says Savas. "It is monopoly v. competition. Where monopoly exists, productivity invariably suffers. Visiting Eastern Europe recently, Savas was surprised to find more competition in some Communist cities than in that citadel of capitalism.

NEW YORK'S BUDGET FISCAL 1975-76

Total Expense Budget
\$12.3 billion



New York. In Moscow, for example, sanitation men who work the hardest are paid the most. Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, solicited competitive bids for a project from city planners in a neighboring municipality as well as its own planners.

CUT SERVICES

New York offers more services than any other U.S. city. Inevitably, some of these will have to be cut back. A prime target of almost every disinterested observer is the municipal hospital system, which costs the city more than \$304 million a year. The bed-occupancy rate of the 18 hospitals continues to decline because patients receiving Medicaid prefer to go to the better-equipped private institutions. Thus the occupancy rate in city hospitals is 77% v. 87% or more in the private hospitals. Without imperiling medical care, the number of city hospitals could be reduced to five or six—with a major one in each of the city's boroughs. But there would probably have to be an expansion of outpatient services in private hospitals or clinics.

The closing of even a single hospital sparks a bitter political fight. The hospitals not only provide health care but are also a source of jobs, and they are over-staffed with doctors and other employees. Dr. John Holloman, \$65,000-a-year director of the city's Health and Hospitals Corporation, has resisted cutbacks. He even quashed a report on possible economies that was prepared by his own staff. A close observer of city affairs notes hyperbolically: "Some of the neighbors, in league with the more radical doctors, will riot, kill and burn to keep the hospital from being closed."

No other city runs a huge university system, let alone one that costs virtually nothing for undergraduates to attend. While tuition at most public universities, including New York State's, amounts to at least several hundred dollars a year, an undergraduate at the City University of New York pays a mere \$110 in fees. CUNY has a splendid history of helping innumerable in-

THE NATION

digent students become leaders in business, Government and professions. But today, with an enrollment of more than 265,000, CUNY costs \$595 million a year. The city, which pays 45% of CUNY's budget, has trimmed its payment this year by \$32 million. CUNY will either have to reduce its enrollment sharply or charge tuition, a necessity that has been steadfastly resisted by the board of higher education.

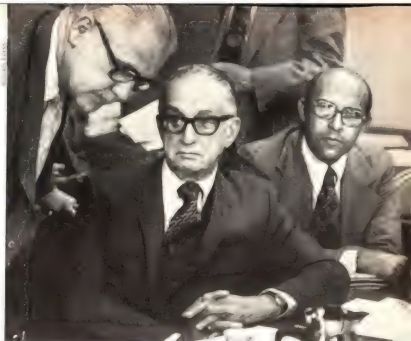
Another solution would be to transfer CUNY to the state, which would charge tuition, raise educational standards and close overlapping facilities. In addition to a free education, less affluent students who belong to SEEK (Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge) receive a stipend averaging \$30 a week. The state education department recently complained that SEEK students were not learning fast enough and were taking dubious courses, such as Caribbean religion and education and the Third World. Says Savas: "This is a very expensive way of achieving remedial education."

Some city agencies can be abolished in their entirety or shifted to state management. Among them: the addition services agency, which duplicates state services and has a questionable record of success with its drug-withdrawal and methadone-maintenance programs (estimated savings: \$18 million a year); the city department of corrections, which also duplicates state penal facilities (savings: \$92 million); the municipal broadcast system, which provides quality material but must be considered a luxury at the present time (savings: \$2.4 million); vocational counseling and job placement, which is ineffective and overlaps state services (total savings: \$57 million); the board of examiners, which certifies teachers already certified by the state department of education (savings: \$3 million).

END RENT CONTROL

New York's housing has deteriorated alarmingly. More than 30,000 apartments are being abandoned each year. One major reason is the city's archaic rent-control law, which has been on the books since World War II. Because landlords in many instances cannot raise rents enough to cover costs, they simply walk away from unprofitable buildings, leaving them in the hands of the city, which can scarcely afford to rehabilitate them or even maintain them. With fuel costs high and climbing, abandonments are bound to accelerate. Real estate tax delinquencies are also ominously rising; they reached \$220 million in fiscal 1975.

Rent control must be phased out. That process could be combined with a modest building program to encourage home ownership in the city. Though more than a thousand acres of largely abandoned areas in The Bronx and Brooklyn are next to slums, they are potentially desirable because they are con-



PLOTTING STRATEGY FOR SAVING NEW YORK CITY ARE ELLINGHAUS, LEVITT, GOVERNOR'S LEGAL
There are bold new thoughts of introducing competition into an old urban monopoly

veniently located. The city could clear them and erect row houses to be sold to middle-class buyers. Says I.D. Robbins, a builder and former president of the City Club, a civic watchdog group: "There is a tremendous capital investment left over from the time these neighborhoods thrived. All that is missing is people."

ENCOURAGE BUSINESS

No matter what cuts are made, the city's future depends largely on its business climate, which has turned decidedly cloudy because private employers are moving out. Since 1969, when there were 3,798,000 jobs in the city, 456,000 have been lost. In part, this reflects a national trend of manufacturers escaping the high-cost, crime-ridden inner cities. Even so, New York has done next to nothing to stem the exodus. Says Savas: "City officials look upon business as a convenient cow to be milked." Until recently, the city offered few of the tax breaks or sundry inducements that other places use to attract and keep industry. "New York City has had a totally planless economic development," says Herbert Bienstock, a U.S. Labor Department employment expert.

As the fiscal crisis has deepened, the city has belatedly dangled a small carrot to attract business. The Economic Development Administration has started issuing bonds and using the proceeds to cover construction costs for certain industries that want to move to the city or expand their operations. There are also signs that the city's economy may be bottoming out. A recent report by the New School for Social Research suggests that New York has once again become cost-competitive with the rest of the country, because of overbuilding, office space, for

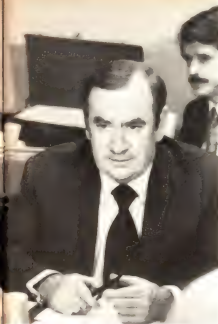
example, has become less expensive. Five years ago, space in midtown buildings was renting for \$9 to \$14 per sq. ft.; today the cost is down to \$7 to \$12. The city is still the nation's center of banking, the stock market, broadcasting, publishing, advertising and the arts. Its cultural, medical and scientific facilities are unrivaled. The number of tourists increases each year. But without proper support from the rest of the city, the healthy core will also begin to rot.

HOLD DOWN TAXES

Aside from borrowing, the city's favorite way of paying its bills has been to raise taxes—as if there were no limit. Yet the more it has increased taxes, the more people and businesses it has driven from the city, thus further eroding the tax base. In addition to an 8% city sales tax, a city income tax is levied on residents and—to a lesser extent—on commuters. A New York family of four earning \$15,000 a year pays a city tax of \$179 (as well as a state income tax of \$475).

Confronted with a 20% tax boost that brought its total bill to \$449 million last year, Con Edison charges the highest rates of any U.S. utility. Electricity costs for industrial users are 50% higher in New York than in Connecticut, 35% above rates in New Jersey and Massachusetts. Last month Weedon & Co., the large brokerage house, announced that it will move more than half of its operations to New Jersey because of a recent increase in the city's securities tax.

Both President Ford and Treasury Secretary Simon have called for a boost in the city sales tax—a sure way to drive still more shoppers to the lower-taxed suburbs. An increase in the state income



ADVISED VICTOR MARRERO & GOVERNOR CAREY
that has grown unproductive.

tax is widely predicted. As recently as last August, Mayor Beame once again raised the city corporate tax, which comes on top of state and federal business levies. Beame even tried to win approval of a tax on beer, though his own administration had worked feverishly last year to prevent two breweries from leaving the city. Writes Ken Auletta, a sometime Democratic Party official who is a vocal critic of New York's government: "The city's unique form of socialism just doesn't work in a general capitalist economy. People who cannot afford it, after all, have a choice: they don't have to live or keep their job-producing business here."

NATIONALIZE WELFARE

One of the greatest drains on New York's wealth, patience and civic stability is the enormous welfare community, which has defied all efforts to cut it down. Relief rolls tripled in the 1960s, the most prosperous years in the nation's history. Today more than 1 million people—one out of every eight New Yorkers—are on welfare. Their benefits are the nation's highest. A family of four gets an average \$258 a month along with \$130 for rent, as well as food stamps and free medical care. The city also offers the widest range of supplements, such as payments to single men who attend drug-addiction programs and free day-care centers for mothers, one-third of whom are not actually working, though they may be trying to find jobs.

Most people on the rolls deserve welfare; many others do not, even by New York's generous standards. Though the number of ineligible has been reduced, they still amount to 8% of the total number of recipients, according to the city's conservative estimate. A state audit re-

vealed that the city had squandered \$19 million because of tardiness in removing ineligible and inaccurate recording of outside income. Nor is there any excuse for a \$434,000-a-year welfare public relations outfit, which includes a television camera crew and staffers who churn out press releases glorifying the welfare department.

Though the city will have to reduce its welfare budget, it cannot—and should not—solve the problem alone. Its dependent population was largely created by federal policies. By subsidizing mechanization on the farm, the U.S. Government helped uproot hundreds of thousands of poor Southern blacks, who flocked to Northern cities during the 1950s and 1960s. The city has also been forced to accept an unlimited migration from Puerto Rico; traditionally, New York has served as the port of entry for most immigrants to America. Yet that function has never been properly recognized or reimbursed.

The Federal Government pays 46% of the city's \$2.4 billion welfare bill, and the state pays one-quarter. In view of the national service that New York has rendered, it deserves more federal aid. Some New Yorkers urge the U.S. to carry 75% of the city's welfare costs, as it does in a number of other states. A more limited scheme would reimburse New York City for the \$110 million it pays in home relief—a program directed at people who have lost jobs in the recession.

Eventually there should be a federalization of welfare that would provide equal benefits throughout the nation, with some gradations because of the cost of living. The U.S. Government would assume the cost of the program. It would not, of course, pay for all of New York City's present welfare benefits; they would have to be reduced, or the city would have to make up the difference. Aside from the fairness of the program, it would discourage people from moving from places with low benefits to those with high payments, notably New York. Thus the bigger cities would be relieved of some of their burden.

MOVE TO REGIONALISM

Looking further into the future, New York will have to consider some revision of its governmental structure. The city is really part of a tristate region and thus has a problem unique among American municipalities. Many of its most affluent commuters live in Connecticut and New Jersey and do not pay their fair share of taxes for the city's upkeep. They are determined to keep it at a distance; yet its problems continue to spread and will ultimately engulf them.

Despite opposition, notably from the suburbs, a sensible approach would be to increase regional government in the tristate area. Some starts have been made. The Port Authority maintains maritime facilities and bridges and tunnels connecting New York City and

New Jersey; the Metropolitan Transportation Authority supervises commuter and mass transit. These agencies could serve as models for units to deal with other regional problems such as land use, air and water pollution and taxation. City Planning Commission Chairman John Zuccotti also contemplates a regional development authority that would plan orderly industrial growth and discourage one area from recruiting a business from another—a practice that wastes money and effort.

In addition to thinking big, the city should also think small. The city's bustling communities are potential sources of good government. Over the years, as city government became more centralized and the Democratic Party structure grew weaker, neighborhoods were stripped of their powers. "Citizens pay their taxes, and then they abdicate," says Savas. "They have lost their skills as citizens; they have contracted them out to public employees."

Yet many acts of government could be performed better on a local level. Neighborhood leaders, for example, would know better than city hall when to patrol the streets and how to clean them, how to maintain the parks and collect the garbage. The flourishing block associations in the city are a modest revival of local self-government. A portion of the city labor force might be dispatched to work in the neighborhoods. One employee could serve as a captain to coordinate activities for a five-block area and stimulate volunteer work. With a limited power of the purse, communities could choose among services provided by the city government or by private contractors. Next month New Yorkers will be given an opportunity to vote for city charter changes that will strengthen local governing boards.

New York City will not be the same as cutbacks and reforms are inevitably pressed upon it. "When you leave New York, you're only camping out," boasted Jimmy Walker, the 1920s mayor whose smart-talking, big-spending style symbolized the city then and now. New York has to do more of everything—do it first and do it longest. But New Yorkers will now have to live in a more subdued style. "The city must shed its big-government psychology," says Dick Netzer, dean of New York University School of Public Administration and a member of Big Mac's board of directors. "It must disclaim its pretensions that it can resolve fundamental social problems or provide a tremendous range of worthy services. Officials should attempt to lower expectations—or at least shift them toward other levels of government that have some hope of satisfying these expectations." If the crisis really does teach the city to match its swollen expectations to its shrunken means, New York—with its rich concentration of talents and resources—might pioneer a new way of life for the American city.

Other Cities: Not on the Skids — Yet

With few exceptions, major cities across the U.S. are in financial trouble, though their problems are far less menacing than New York's. One reason is that most other cities are forbidden to issue short-term bonds and notes for operating expenses, those that may do so generally must pay off the debts within the same fiscal year. In inflationary times, these cities have had to raise taxes or reduce payrolls and services to live within their incomes. Following are reports on the 12 biggest U.S. cities, except for New York and Washington, D.C., the eleventh largest, which has been excluded because of its unique dependence on the Federal Government. The cities are ranked according to 1975 population as estimated by Standard Rate & Data Service:

2. CHICAGO had a \$16 million surplus in 1974, and forecasts a surplus for 1975

The local economy remains strong, largely because of businessmen's confidence in the management skills of fiscally conservative Mayor Richard Daley. As a result, Chicago has escaped many of the financial problems of other cities. In fact, because new taxes on payrolls and cigarettes raised \$50 million in additional revenue, Chicago was able to cut its property taxes by 10% in the past four years. But the Second City's fiscal success is also due partly to the fact that many of its public expenses are paid by independent authorities or the county or state. For example, the city government spends nothing on schools, which are operated by an independent board that has a budget of \$1.16 billion (\$60 million larger than the city budget) and a deficit of \$47.4 million. Cook County, which includes most of Chicago's suburbs, operates the metropolitan area's huge public hospital, still another governmental body runs parks in the county, including those within the city; and state and federal moneys pay nearly all the county's \$1 billion welfare bill.

3. LOS ANGELES had a \$61.3 million surplus in fiscal 1975, and anticipates a \$13 million surplus this year.

Though the tax base has been growing at 5% a year, the city still has had to postpone about \$30 million in capital expenditures—including street improvements—to avoid layoffs or cuts in public services this year. City Administrative Officer C. Erwin Piper predicts that to balance its budget next year Los Angeles will either have to trim some services or raise property taxes again; they went up nearly 10% in August.

4. PHILADELPHIA reported a \$19 million deficit in fiscal 1975, and projects a possible \$50 million deficit in 1976

Mayor Frank L. Rizzo is squeezed between a state law requiring a balanced budget and his own determination not to raise taxes or pare services. On paper, this year's budget is within 5% of balancing, but only because of some highly questionable revenue calculations. For example, the budget writers included \$65 million in aid that has not yet been appropriated by Congress or the state legislature. City Controller William G. Klenk, a Rizzo opponent, claims that Philadelphia has been using "illusory accounting techniques." He estimates that last year's deficit was actually \$82 million, other critics predict that the fiscal 1976 deficit will be close to \$100 million.

5. DETROIT ended fiscal 1975 with a projected deficit of \$17.6 million, but forecasts a balanced budget this year.

When the slump in the automobile industry pushed the city's unemployment to 23% and reduced its revenues by an estimated \$16 million last winter, Mayor Coleman Young laid off some 1,500 city workers, or 6% of the total. He is now trying to eliminate another 1,200 jobs by not filling vacancies and has reduced hours at the city's museums. Yet Detroit will escape a deficit this year only in the unlikely event that the state legislature agrees to raise the city nonresident income tax from one-half of 1% to 1%.

6. HOUSTON, after a \$12.7 million surplus in 1974, anticipates a surplus of that much or more in 1975

The city's economy, largely based on oil, is booming. Unemployment is a relatively low 4.9%; population grows at 3% a year, and the property tax base expands at 13.3% annually. A young city, Houston has few of the urban ills found elsewhere, such as dilapidated housing and large welfare rolls. As a result, officials foresee no future budgetary problems. They lowered the property tax rate by 3% this year.

7. DALLAS had a \$6.5 million surplus in the last year and expects a \$4.5 million surplus this year.

To keep in the black, the city council recently raised property taxes by 3.3%. In addition, Dallas will trim 255 city workers from its payroll this year, and City Manager George Schraeder plans to cut an additional \$2 million in nonessential services. They include reduced city support for museums, book-

mobiles and the police department's public relations activities.

8. BALTIMORE had a surplus of \$52.2 million in fiscal 1975, and expects a surplus of more than \$30 million this year.

City property taxes have been held near last year's rate, principally because the state in recent years has taken over responsibility for operating the municipal airport and financing school construction. The state also pays about one-third of the police department and public library budgets. Even so, Baltimore has put a freeze on hiring and on buying new equipment and eliminated 800 jobs through attrition. Services will have to be cut further next year unless the city comes up with about \$50 million in new revenue.

9. INDIANAPOLIS ended last year with a \$7.3 million surplus, and projects a \$3.8 million surplus for this year.

Once shaky, the city's financial condition was greatly improved after it was merged with its suburbs in 1969. Since then, the tax base has been rising an average of 6% a year, largely because of growth in the metropolitan area's diversified economy. As a result, the city has not been forced to reduce services or its work force. Nor are cuts expected in the future. One reason: a reassessment is expected to increase the value of taxable property by 40%.

10. SAN DIEGO ended fiscal 1975 with a \$5 million surplus, and forecasts an unspecified surplus this year.

Revenues are growing but not as fast as costs. Officials have eliminated some services, such as trimming residents' trees, and postponed purchases of fire-fighting and recreational equipment. They also have cut 213 jobs through attrition this year, plan to abolish as many in 1976, and have held pay increases to 5%. Disgruntled policemen responded by hiring the Teamsters for \$200,000 to represent them in contract negotiations starting next spring. Rather than increase property taxes next year, city officials are considering imposing an income tax.

12. MILWAUKEE ended 1974 with a \$43 million surplus, and forecasts a \$38.5 million surplus this year.

Even so, city officials anticipate a crunch in 1977, chiefly because of recently granted 8% wage increases for city employees. The city has imposed a temporary freeze on promotions and hiring. If the fiscal situation worsens, city Budget Director Ed Whitney has recommended that the city council consider a number of other ways to cut costs, including laying off 900 workers, imposing across-the-board pay cuts, requiring employees to take up to 26 unpaid holidays a year and closing the city's public hospital, museum or some libraries. Such future shock could apply to almost all of the nation's large cities.



FORD EXPLAINING TAX & SPENDING CUTS IN KNOXVILLE, TENN.

THE PRESIDENT

Pre-Emptive First Strike on Taxes

What could possibly sound more appealing? A record-breaking income tax cut of \$28 billion. An equally sharp slash in Government spending. Both aimed as President Ford said of his proposals last week, at "getting the Government off your back and out of your pocket." Insisted Treasury Secretary William Simon: "There were no political considerations in this decision whatsoever."

There did appear to have been some political considerations in the timing of the decision, however. As it was evidently intended to do, Ford's surprise announcement that he wants another big tax cut beginning on Jan. 1 coupled with an equally sharp cut in spending later in the year—left congressional Democrats squirming. With one stroke the Administration seemed to have seized the initiative on tax and budget policy, two issues that promise to be crucial in 1976.

Although there were forecasts that Ford would ask for a tax cut balanced by a slash in spending (TIME, Oct. 13), his tax plans were one of the best kept secrets of his Administration.

Torn-Up Timetable. Originally, Ford had planned to follow tradition and unwrap his tax proposals in his State of the Union address in January. But that timetable was torn up last week, when Democratic Congressman Al Ullman's Ways and Means Committee seemed to be making fast progress on a complicated package of tax reforms. Beyond revising the tax laws Ullman expected to extend most provisions of the "temporary" tax cut that had been enacted earlier this year to

spur the lagging economy. These lower rates are scheduled to expire on Jan. 1, and without action before then withholding rates will revert to the higher 1974 levels.

Ullman's committee had planned to call Simon last week to testify on whether the Administration would support such an extension. The White House did not see Ullman's hearings as the best forum for a major Administration tax statement, so Ford decided to get the jump on the Democrats.

He did so early last week in a hastily scheduled speech. Ford declared that the U.S. has been following a "path toward bigger Government, higher taxes and higher inflation." He warned that "down that road lie the wrecks of many great nations of the past." Instead he said, the U.S. must reduce both taxes and spending. Insisting that "it would be dangerous and irresponsible to adopt one without the other," he vowed to veto

THE NATION

any attempt by Congress to enact tax cuts without committing itself to spending no more than \$395 billion in fiscal 1977, which begins next Oct. 1. Without such a ceiling, the White House claims, the 1977 budget would reach at least \$423 billion, up \$53 billion from the 1976 budget on which Congress is still working.

Ford said his proposal would save companies and individuals \$28 billion—the biggest single tax cut in our history. Yet the claim was deceptive. Ford's figures were based on the 1974 permanent rates, which did not take into account the projected impact of the temporary cut now in effect. The present rates would have produced a \$17 billion reduction in taxes next year. Thus in reality, the Ford cut would amount to an increase of \$2 to \$8 in the typical wage earner's weekly paycheck.

Ford's tax reduction would give more relief to middle- and high-income individuals than those in lower brackets (see chart). Because he intends to abandon the recently enacted "earned-income credit"—which reduces the tax bill or provides an actual rebate for families earning less than \$8,000 a year—Ford would in effect raise taxes for some poor families. His plan would also

► Increase personal exemptions for taxpayers and their dependents from the present \$750, to \$1,000.

► Establish a uniform standard deduction of \$1,800 for single individuals and \$2,500 for married couples not itemizing deductions. Currently this deduction varies as a percentage of income with a maximum of \$2,300 for single people and \$2,600 for couples.

► Lower the rates for all taxpayers with incomes up to \$10,000.

► Help businesses which would get one-fourth of the total tax reduction—by lowering the maximum levy on corporate profits from 48% to 46%.

Even if the size of the tax cut is not as large as billed, Ford was in the comfortable political position of having suggested a reduction larger than any being seriously contemplated in the Congress. Ford and the Democrats have now plunged into bitter disagreement over whether Congress should—or can—impose a limitation on a budget that will

FORD'S IDEA: LOWER TAXES

ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME	1972-74 RATE	1975 RATE	PROPOSED 1976 RATE
\$ 8,000	\$ 569	\$ 347	\$ 190
15,000	1,732	1,612	1,325
25,000	3,820	3,700	3,370
35,000	6,524	6,404	6,104
50,000	11,690	11,570	11,180

Family of four (parents with two dependents) filing a joint return with itemized deductions of 16% of adjusted gross income.

Time Magazine, August 1975

THE NATION

not become effective for nearly a year.

Ways and Means Chairman Ullman fumes that the very idea is "totally preposterous." Congress, he points out, can scarcely be expected to deal with "a mythical budget that doesn't exist. Now if the President really wants a \$395 billion budget, he ought to send it up." Democratic Senator Hubert Humphrey dismissed Ford's proposal as "a subtle ploy but not hard for people to figure out: give 'em a tax cut in January and hack the budget after the elections."

The Administration appeared to relish the squabble. In his White House press conference, Ford scoured the Democrats: "I can't imagine a Congress not having enough imagination to combine a spending limitation and a tax reduction. If they don't, there ought to be some changes up on Capitol Hill."

Ford's pre-emptive first strike on the issue of tax and spending cuts seemed like shrewd economics as well as clever politics. On the one hand, most econ-

omists, including a good many conservatives, are persuaded that more stimulus, in the form of bigger tax breaks, will be needed in the future to ensure that the recovery continues. At the same time, even liberals will find it hard to deny that some effort to hold down federal spending is necessary. However, some economists wonder whether Ford's challenge will have the intended impact on Capitol Hill. For instance, Republican Murray Weidenbaum, a member of TIME's Board of Economists, finds Ford's concern with spending "well conceived," but he questions whether Congress can be made to think about overall ceilings in a budget it will not even have a chance to see on paper until next January.

In fact, the Democrats may try to deal with Ford's initiative by ignoring it. The current prospect: Congress will reject Ford's demand for a ceiling on spending and will extend the present package of tax cuts, daring Ford to veto

it. If he does, Congress can probably muster the votes to override. Then it can await Ford's own budget proposals next January—which he has promised will not exceed \$395 billion—and go to work on approving or rejecting the Administration's spending program. By that time the political argument may be something of a standoff.

Budget Cutter. However most voters may react to the argument, Ford's antispending stance helps him with conservatives in his own party. Ford announced his tax and spending plans just as California's Ronald Reagan approved the creation of a campaign committee to prepare his challenge to Ford in New Hampshire's opening presidential primary next February. Nor did it seem happenstance that only ten days earlier Reagan had presented a vague plan to whack some \$90 billion out of federal spending, a move clearly designed to establish himself as the bold-est budget cutter of them all.

Jack Ford: 'My Turn to Sacrifice'

Once again Gerald Ford found himself obliged to defend his family's candor. This time the reason was the frank admission by his middle son Jack, 23, during an interview with the Portland Oregonian, that he has smoked marijuana. While careful to note that he "disapproved," President Ford in his press conference last week insisted that he found his son's honesty a "very fine trait." TIME Washington Correspondent Bonnie Angelo filed this report.

If the President had some private misgivings about his son's public honesty, Jack did not. He has told friends that

he has felt "a lot better" since he spoke up about his pot smoking. He brought it into the open because he, along with some White House advisers, worried that his father's political opponents might try to make use of rumors about his freewheeling bachelor life, which have been swirling through Washington like smoke at a rock concert.

As the first bachelor-son to live in the White House since F.D.R.'s days, Jack Ford is a natural subject for speculation. He graduated from Utah State University in May and went back to Washington, ostensibly to find his way around before starting work as a Ford

campaign aide. It was not long before Jack gained a reputation as a swinger. He jokingly asked Henry Kissinger, "Now that you're married, can I have your little black book?" When an interviewer asked him about girls, he replied laughingly, "What kind of girls do I like? Two legs, two arms..."

Jack's return to the White House left him with a case of the intellectual bends. As a friend of David Kennerly, the President's ubiquitous young photographer, Jack met Andy Warhol and Bianca Jagger, and made his way onto the New York City pop-celebrity circuit. On one Manhattan jaunt, Jack, Bianca and Kennerly dropped in at Le Jardin, a discotheque frequented by gays and in-crowd types. Jack later told friends: "I was dancing with Bianca and a fellow came up to me and tapped me on the shoulder and said, 'May I dance?' I thought he wanted to dance with Bianca. He wanted to dance with me!"

Jack soon began pouring out his problems to friends. Says one acquaintance: "He's miserable at the White House. He hates living surrounded by the Secret Service. He can't get a job as a park ranger for fear that there would be cries of nepotism. There are natural tensions between him and his father, who is very stern." Jack does not want him to run next year for fear of the campaign's effect on his mother.

But his feelings may have been tempered of late by some cool reconsideration. "He's done things for me for so long," he says of his father. "Now it's my turn to sacrifice a little for him." In fact, there was a party in the fashionable Washington suburb of McLean, Va., last week for Andy Warhol. Where was Jack? Off somewhere in the mountains of Utah, fishing.

FORD, JAGGER, WARHOL & KENNERLY ON SOUTH BALCONY OF THE WHITE HOUSE LAST JULY



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RADICALS

'Scared She's Going to Be Killed'

Mother and daughter converse through a glass partition that prevents them from touching, so they do the best they can. When their visits are over, Catherine Hearst kisses her own hand and then presses it to the glass. On the other side of the prison barrier, Patty Hearst does the same.

Family friends contend that Patty is now very loving toward her parents; her harsh statements against them are either forgotten or overlooked. Still, the Hearsts are said to be alarmed by the way Patty's mind veers. "Sometimes she's real normal," a close source reports. "But she really is not in very good shape. Talking with her is like talking to a 15-year-old, with lapses back to three years of age." According to a defense attorney, Albert Johnson, "Her attention span is very limited. She does not have a realization of the enormity of the charges against her. Her thoughts are disjointed, disconnected. She thinks of the moment rather than the hour, the day or the future."

Who First? Patty's mental state remains the key issue before the courts. Last week Federal Judge Oliver Carter postponed until at least Oct. 22 the hearing to determine whether she should go free on \$500,000 bail pending trial. The delay will give three psychiatrists and one psychologist appointed by the court more time to evaluate her stability. If Patty is found to be mentally incompetent, she could be confined to an institution indefinitely (see THE LAW).

If she is found competent to stand trial, the prosecutors will face another question: who should try her first? Patty has been indicted on one federal count of bank robbery—for her admitted participation in the robbery of a Hibernia Bank in San Francisco—and on eleven state charges of kidnapping, armed bank robbery and assault.

To discuss how to handle the many charges against Patty, 16 federal and state prosecutors, headed by U.S. Attorney James Browning, met in San Francisco. Browning's federal case will probably take precedence. But even after the trials already in the works are over, Patty's long day in court may not have ended. Agents and detectives are investigating evidence that may connect her, as well as her Symbionese Liberation Army companions, William and Emily Harris, to two more bank robberies, one at the Guild Savings & Loan Association in Sacramento on Feb. 25 and the other at the Crocker National Bank near Sacramento on April 21. Indeed, there were twelve bank robberies in the Sacramento area in the first six months of this year, and investigators are now taking a new look at them.

The two robberies for which Patty is under suspicion had one peculiar similarity. At the first, one of the two men who entered the building stood at the door and counted out the seconds to one minute, then yelled, "Let's get out of here!" At the second, a woman, who had a blue bandanna pulled over her face stood by the door and counted off the time. She noted every 30 seconds until, at 1½ minutes, she began ticking off every second. At two minutes, she too yelled, "Let's get out of here!"

In that second robbery, a blast from a shotgun, fired by one of the raiders, killed a customer, Myrna Lee Opsahl. If Patty was a member of the gang that hit that bank, she could be charged with murder. And agents are already convinced that she took part at least in the preparations for the raid.

The link was a 1967 Pontiac Firebird, stolen in Oakland, Calif., that was used as a getaway car. Investigators believe Patty rented garage space for the car in Sacramento the week before the

robbery. The Sacramento police received a tip that the garage had been rented by a young woman who was acting suspiciously. TIME has learned that the police set up a stakeout on the car, which lasted from Monday through Friday, April 14 to 18. No one showed up. But on Saturdays and Sundays only a skeleton police force guards the relaxed city of Sacramento, so the watch was lifted. On Sunday night, the day before the Crocker robbery, the car vanished.

Without Knowing. The casual approach of the Sacramento police may be one reason that Patty and the Harrises were able to avoid capture there from around last Thanksgiving until late May, when they moved to San Francisco. Last spring the Sacramento police stumbled across Patty without knowing it. The fugitives were living in an apartment in a duplex at 1721 W Street in the downtown area. They were using aliases—Patty was known as Sue Hendricks, Emily Harris as Suzanne Lanphear, and Bill Harris as Steve Broudy.

One day in April, the body of a murder victim—having nothing to do with the Symbionese Liberation Army—was found near the house where the trio was living. In a routine check of the area local police interviewed Hendricks, Lanphear and Broudy. All three reported that nothing unusual had happened on the night before the body was discovered. The police dutifully filed their reports. After Patty and the Harrises were captured last month and traced back to Sacramento, federal agents went through the police files and found the write-ups under the fugitives' aliases.

More and more details are emerging.

THE HEARSTS LEAVING DAUGHTER'S JAIL



HOUSE IN SACRAMENTO WHERE PATTY HEARST LIVED WITH THE HARRISES



THE NATION

about Patty's life during her odyssey. TIME has also learned that she and the Harrises were living in the house in Los Angeles where six members of the S.L.A. were slain in the blazing shoot-out on May 17, 1974. Shortly before the Los Angeles police and federal agents surrounded the house, Patty and the Harrises were sent out by the others to run a few errands, one of which, apparently, was to steal some money for the group. The three are thought to have taken \$400 from a man driving a Lincoln Continental. Then they headed for home, heard the gunfire and fled.

The purported reason for the kidnapping of Patty that started the whole bizarre affair appeared last week in the San Francisco *Examiner*, the oldest

newspaper in the Hearst chain. It printed a lengthy excerpt from an S.L.A. document said to have been found at the Harrises' apartment after their arrest. The paper, which had no identifiable author, declared that the S.L.A. had grabbed Patty in revenge for the arrest on Jan. 10, 1974 of Russell Little and Joseph Remiro, members of the terrorist group who were later sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of Marcus Foster, Oakland's superintendent of schools. The S.L.A. was convinced that the Hearst family was powerful enough to secure the release of Little and Remiro in exchange for Patty.

For some unexplained reason, the S.L.A. did not immediately offer to trade Patty for the pair. Instead, the group de-

manded that Randolph Hearst ransom his daughter by giving free food to California's poor in a program that could have cost as much as \$400 million. When the publisher spent only \$2 million, said the document, the S.L.A. became disillusioned about his intentions and never offered to swap prisoners.

The S.L.A. account does not name any of the persons who kidnaped Patty, but investigators believe that one was Bill Harris, her former comrade in arms. Patty now lives in fear of Harris and of other S.L.A. supporters, perhaps because of the attack on the S.L.A. in the affidavit that her lawyers submitted for her last month. Says a source close to the family: "She's scared she's going to be killed."

The Master of Acquittals

It came as no surprise to anyone who has ever opposed him in a courtroom that F. Lee Bailey emerged as Patty Hearst's top lawyer last week, shortly after joining the defense team. One of the best, toughest and most flamboyant criminal lawyers in the nation, Bailey, at 42, is a loner, a leader who could no more be a second-stringer than Joe Namath could be a back-up quarterback.

Before Bailey was hired by the Hearsts, he had to be accepted by Patty, who gave her quick approval after talking to him in jail. At the time, the defense was headed by Vincent Hallinan, 71, long a successful defender of radicals. But the elder Hallinan was in the process of relinquishing his position to his son, Terence Hallinan, 38, who is cut in Bailey's aggressive mold. Then young Hallinan quit. "I'm swept off my feet by this vortex," he said. "My whole practice is going out the window, and the case is beyond my control."

The first case that Bailey will defend probably will be the federal charge that Patty took part in the armed robbery of the Hibernia Bank in San Francisco. So far, at least, he has shown no signs that he will urge Patty to cop a plea—testify against her *Symbionese Liberation Army* comrades in an effort to get off easily. Bailey says he will argue that the Hibernia Bank case was "a matter of simple coercion"—that Patty was forced to take part in the robbery by her companions. One problem he will have to explain away is the taped message from Patty, delivered to the police nine days after the robbery, in which she calmly declared that she willingly took part in the raid.

The trial on the state charges, which is expected to take place early next year, poses more difficult problems for the defense. One of the charges is kidnapping, and the victim—Thomas Dean Matthews—has testified that Patty not only seemed totally at ease but boasted about her nascent criminal career. A second state charge is that Patty took part in the armed robbery of a sporting-goods store, shooting up the façade to help in the getaway. Bailey will have trouble proving coercion because witnesses have placed Patty alone in the car outside the store with plenty of opportunity to escape.

Looking ahead to the state case, Bailey told TIME: "We don't expect to go to trial with an amnesia defense. Clas-

sic insanity is definitely out. This is something quite different—a human being is put through a shattering experience and is recovering. Brainwashing will probably be our defense, but it's going to take us some time to work it all out."

Bailey, who has represented clients on more than 100 murder charges and had only three convicted, caught the headlines by defending Dr. Sam Sheppard and Albert DeSalvo (the "Boston Strangler"). In 1971 Bailey got Army Captain Edward Medina acquitted of charges that he was among those responsible for the My Lai massacre of civilians in South Viet Nam.

In a sense, Bailey needs Patty Hearst as much as she needs him. He has not had a big winner since Medina. Recently his career ground to a virtual stop when he became a defendant himself,

accused of conspiring to defraud investors in a conglomerate organized by a client, Florida Entrepreneur Glenn W. Turner. By the time the charges were finally dismissed in August, after 26 months of legal maneuvering, Bailey acknowledged that his practice had been reduced 80%. That is quite a cut for a man who drives a silver Mercedes, flies his own turboprop, and pilots his own helicopter (manufactured by his own company) from his comfortable home in Marshfield, Mass., to his Boston office, 25 miles away.

As the struggle quickens, he is beginning to affect the studied nonchalance of a man who is used to the headlines and remains unawed by the challenge of defending Patty Hearst. "When you get up onto a certain high shelf of cases," says F. Lee Bailey, "the Boston Stranglers, the Sam Sheppards, the cases begin to look pretty much the same."

F. LEE BAILEY STRIDING TO THE DEFENSE IN CALIFORNIA



ASSASSINATIONS

Some Answers and Questions

Almost before the sound of the shots died away, conspiracy theorists began questioning whether Sirhan Bishara Sirhan acted alone on June 5, 1968 when he killed Senator Robert F. Kennedy in Los Angeles' Ambassador Hotel. Last week, a seven-man panel of forensic experts cleared up some of the controversies about the shooting. But their carefully hedged findings left unanswered other troublesome questions about what

by the manufacturer—while the others had two concentric grooves. If so, that would at least raise the possibility that two guns were used, since it could be argued that the assailant was unlikely to load his gun with two kinds of bullets.

But the experts demolished this hypothetical line of reasoning by determining that the Kennedy bullet had two grooves like the others. What was more, by comparing all three bullets closely, the panel was able to decide unequivocally that they all were fired by the same gun.

But was it Sirhan's gun? Trying to answer that basic question, the experts discovered that the bullet-marking characteristics of Sirhan's Iver Johnson .22-cal. revolver had changed since the night it was fired in the Ambassador Hotel. The panel found that the inside of the barrel was fouled by a thin layer of copper alloy that probably stemmed from test firings by the Los Angeles police. The panel squeezed off eight shots into a tank of water, compared the bullets with the original three, studied the barrel of Sirhan's gun, and finally gave up. They announced that they could not say for sure that the three bullets had been fired by Sirhan's gun. Nor, on the other hand, could they rule out that possibility.

When added to evidence previously established, the panel's findings did make it seem much more certain that

Sirhan's gun had done the damage. There is no question that he was shooting at Kennedy. Weisel and Goldstein were also in his line of fire. The bullets that hit all three men came from the same gun.

But some experts still recommend that further studies be made to settle once and for all whether or not Sirhan was acting alone. There are puzzling claims that another gun was firing that night during the melee. Although Sirhan's revolver had a capacity of only eight bullets, some critics argue that more than eight shots were fired, noting that Kennedy himself was hit three times, that five bystanders were wounded, and that there were a number of unexplained holes in the ceiling. There

is also the claim that Sirhan was at the wrong angle to—or distance from—Kennedy to have inflicted the wounds that killed him. Considering all of these unresolved possibilities, Robert Joling, president of the American Academy of Forensic Sciences, declared last week: "Let's take the next scientific steps and get all the answers out front once and for all."

What steps, if any, will be undertaken to tie up the loose ends remain unclear. Neither Godfrey Isaac, Sirhan's lawyer, nor Schrade now intends to push for further investigations. Says Schrade: "I feel tremendously relieved that we resolved the major question, essentially that there was one gun. We have eliminated as much doubt as possible." Enough skeptics remain, however, to virtually guarantee that questions about the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy—like that of his brother John—will continue to simmer for years.

CULTS

Out of This World

One day last month Robert Rubin, a transplanted New Yorker living in Newport, Ore., signed over the four houses and ten-acre farm he owned to a friend and then went away. His neighbor Sue Greenberg put her name to a notarized document assigning her two children to a friend's care, and then she went away too. In Eugene, Surveyor Gerald Anderson quit his job and disappeared, as did Dan Staggs, a nurseryman from nearby Springfield. In all, somewhere between 21 and 26 Oregonians simply up and left everything they had after attending a recruiting meeting of a baffling new sect called HIM—Human Individual Metamorphosis. The sect's sales pitch is simple: it promises to take its followers literally out of this world.

The leaders of HIM are a man and a

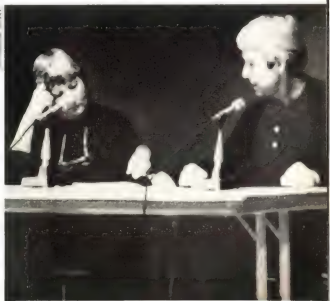
FIREARMS EXPERT TESTING SIRHAN'S PISTOL
Blasting the two-gun advocates.

actually did happen during the flurry of violence that left Kennedy dying on the hotel pantry's concrete floor.

The study was ordered by California Superior Court Justice Robert A. Wenke at the request of CBS, which plans to do a documentary on the assassination, and Paul Schrade, a Kennedy campaign aide who was wounded in the head during the shooting. Schrade explained that he just wanted to get the questions about Kennedy's death cleared up. "I don't have a conspiracy theory," he said. "I'm neutral."

The experts were charged by Judge Wenke to determine if the bullets recovered from Kennedy's neck and from the wounded bystanders, Ira Goldstein and William Weisel, were fired from the same gun. The "two gun" advocates had relied heavily upon the 1970 findings of Pasadena Criminologist William W. Harper; using a Balliscan, a specialized camera used to photograph a cylindrical object rotated in front of it, he decided that the recovered Kennedy bullet had only one cannellure—a groove imprinted

PAIR IDENTIFIED AS "THE TWO" AT OREGON MEETING



woman known to outsiders only as "the Two." Eyewitnesses describe them as being in their 40s and having glassy, hollow-looking eyes. According to a flyer they distributed at one meeting in California, they claim to have come from the same "kingdom" as Jesus Christ. Jesus, the flyer read, left earth "in a cloud of light (what humans refer to as UFOs) and moves and returns in the same manner ... There are two individuals here now who have also come from the next kingdom, incarnate as humans ... and will soon demonstrate that same proof of overcoming death." The Two expect to be assassinated sometime soon, rise from the dead in 3½ days and then leave for home in a UFO. The faithful can come along, provided they have completed an "overcoming process"—a stripping away of all earthly possessions and desires. Converts abandon everything they own, except camping gear and cars, and hit the road. They live a spartan existence, renounce sex entirely—and wait.

The Two apparently began attracting followers as early as July 4 and have since turned up in Colorado, Washington, Oregon, California and Arizona. Few noticed them until the Oregon contingent dropped out of sight. Travelers fitting the Oregonians' descriptions have been seen at various Colorado campsites, and were recently noticed near the Nebraska border, heading east. Another, much larger band of converts is said to be in Northern California.

Hypnotic State. The ultimate lift-off spot of the putative UFO is unknown, but it seems that HIM disciples generally alternate between traveling in caravans and fanning out in smaller groups or alone in order to proselytize. Some of them have got in touch with news organizations or written postcards home to prove they are well and victims of neither fraud nor coercion. "Try to be happy for me," a 25-year-old Denver man named Larry wrote to his parents. "Don't worry, this is not an S.L.A. group or a Charles Manson group. You have to be awfully good to go on this journey."

Several people who attended a meeting in Waldport, Ore., wonder whether their neighbors who disappeared might have been in "some sort of hypnotic state." The male half of the Two, who always runs the meetings, seems to have a rare ability to impress audiences with the urgency and truth of his message. His gestures too are apparently hypnotic: he is said to tip his head back at regular intervals. Says one witness: "A robot was the only comparison I could make."

In Oregon, police do not even have missing-persons reports in their files: the HIM converts simply told their loved ones they were leaving for good. Nor are the police terribly concerned, at least so far. "Most of these people were hippie types," says Oregon State Policeman Melvin Gibson. "They're not what you'd call prominent citizens." Still, he adds, "there's no question there's something funny going on."

HAWAII

The A.J.A.s: Fast-Rising Sons

Television news clips of Japanese Emperor Hirohito's arrival at Honolulu International Airport last week probably left many viewers across the U.S. wondering momentarily whether they had heard the anchor man right. Was it Hawaii, the final leg of the Emperor's U.S. tour—or was the royal couple back in Tokyo? After all, practically all of the smiling and handshaking officials greeting Hirohito and Empress Nagako seemed to be Japanese. And so they were: Americans of Japanese ancestry. Few mainlanders realize the extent to which A.J.A.s, as they are known in Ha-

Not bad for a community that numbers only 238,000 people—28% of the state's population as against 39% for haoles.

Japanese began arriving in Hawaii in the 1880s, when white plantation owners started importing them as farmhands. Even in the 1920s, Royal Mead, a spokesman for sugar planters, told a congressional committee: "The white people, the Americans in Hawaii, are going to dominate and will continue to dominate—there's no question about it." But the Caucasian elite did not figure on the dedication of members of the



INOUE (LEFT) CELEBRATES 1974 ELECTION VICTORY WITH ARIYOSHI & WIFE. Taking over bastions of Caucasian power and status.

wai, have flourished in the islands and now dominate their politics.

Last fall A.J.A.s took over two principal bastions of Caucasian (*haole* in Hawaiian) power and status. George Ariyoshi was elected the state's Governor, and Fujio ("Fudge") Matsuda was appointed president of the University of Hawaii. Both men are nisei, or second-generation Americans; Ariyoshi's father had been a sumo wrestler in Japan. Today only two non-A.J.A.s hold major elective offices in Hawaii: U.S. Senator Hiram Fong, who is of Chinese ancestry, and Frank Fasi, mayor of Honolulu, an Italian American. A rundown of other important Hawaiian politicians reads like an A.J.A. *Who's Who*: U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye of Watergate committee fame, Representatives Spark Matsunaga and Patsy Mink, State Senate President John Ushijima, State House Speaker James Wakatsuki. A.J.A.s hold 55% of the seats in the state legislature and six of the eleven places on the University of Hawaii's board of regents.

isei (immigrant) generation to the social mobility of their offspring. Though often illiterate, they hammered home the value of education. "When I was still a kid," recalls Governor Ariyoshi, "I told my father I wanted to be a lawyer. He said, 'Go to it. You can have the shirt off my back.'" Working hard, living frugally, the A.J.A.s speedily swapped plantation toil for small farms, mom-and-pop shops and city jobs. By the early '30s, almost half had Hawaiian bank accounts and almost 200 were dentists and doctors.

Heavily Decorated. Then came Pearl Harbor. A.J.A.s in public life withdrew rather than incur the wrath of the haoles. In huge numbers, the younger nisei volunteered for military service. They were rebuffed at first. But in 1942, thanks in part to the intercession of the late Governor John Burns, then a police officer serving as liaison between the FBI and the A.J.A.s, 7,500 were inducted and shipped to Europe. Half of them were killed or wounded, their units were heavily decorated. The

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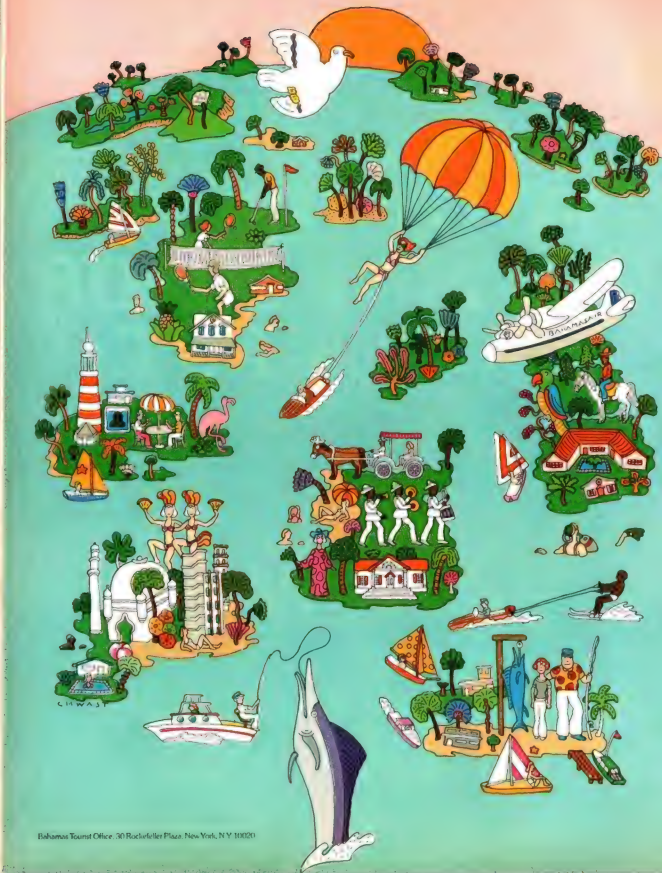
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proud survivors returned home and went to college on the G.I. Bill. A new professional class was born.

Meanwhile, John Burns began building a Democratic Party coalition of labor, A.J.A.s and other minorities. In 1954 Burns and his Democrats swept the *haole* Republican-controlled state legislature. Over the years, the A.J.A.s broadened their political base and helped Burns win the Governor's residence three times. The community as a whole prospered. Still no individual A.J.A. could even begin to match the wealthiest of the islands' 35,000 Chinese Americans, who are gifted entrepreneurs and speculators; at the same time, most of the top corporate posts remain in *haole* hands. But for many A.J.A.s, what mattered most was their rising influence and acceptability, symbolized in 1968 when the Pacific Club in Honolulu, long the exclusive domain of the *haole* ruling class, opened its doors to Japanese Americans.

How long can the A.J.A.s' political power endure? Today they account for almost 40% of all Hawaii's registered voters, but that percentage should shrink gradually as more and more mainland whites, Samoans and Filipinos migrate to the islands. In any case, A.J.A. politicians have found it necessary to play down their ethnic appeal, both as a balm to non-Japanese and in recognition of the fact that many A.J.A.s, especially young ones, are disinclined to vote on ethnic lines. "There is always this thing about how so-and-so is the first Japanese to become such-and-such," Carl Takamura, a young sansei (third-generation) state legislator, told TIME Los Angeles Bureau Chief Jess Cook. "It doesn't have meaning any more. The A.J.A. kids identify first with the Hawaiian life-style and culture and only secondarily with the particular ethnic group."

No Banzais. That was plainly evident during Hirohito's sojourn in the islands. The issue was excited—so much so that a protocol committee felt the need to urge them not to shout organized banzais at the royal motorcade. The *nisei*, however, were less curious. What about the sansei and yonsei (fourth-generation A.J.A.s)? Says Dennis Ogawa, associate professor of American studies at the University of Hawaii: "They think it's nice, but a lot of them would rather see Muhammad Ali."

But Japanese identity is by no means dead among the A.J.A.s. Many sansei, including Governor Ariyoshi's daughter Lynn, go to study in Japan. Traditional family New Year's fetes and a summer-time harvest celebration called *O bon* are alive and well, even among the young. Numerous picnics held by members of various kens (groups of families tracing their lineage to specific prefectures in Japan) are common in Honolulu's Ala Moana park.

The A.J.A.s' near monopoly on top political offices will not last indefinitely.

Says craggy-faced George Ariyoshi: "At some point, the pendulum starts swinging back in the other direction." The economic outlook is hazy. New job openings in some fields traditionally favored by A.J.A.s, such as teaching and the civil service, have grown scarce.

That means that the sansei and yonsei must find some new and realistic aspirations that are different from their fathers' go-for-broke assault on Hawaii's civic heights. Many of those unwilling to give up their professional ambition will have to overcome reluctance to

leave the haven of Hawaii and join Japanese Americans competing in the larger mainland society. Others may choose quality of life over personal advancement, possibly even turning to blue-collar occupations traditionally shunned by the *nisei*. It may take time for new goals to take shape, but for now, the confidence of the younger A.J.A.s seems wholly unimpaired. As a pidgin English poem written by a sansei goes, "Ma name Ameriken, ma face Japanee/ So wat! As up to me/ To be free an make it in Hawaii."



JAPANESE EMPEROR HIROHITO WITH MICKEY MOUSE AT DISNEYLAND

Hirohito Winds Up His Grand U.S. Tour

Like some other imperial visitors before them, including Ethiopia's late Emperor Haile Selassie and the Shah of Iran, Japan's Emperor Hirohito and his wife Empress Nagako last week paid a call at that West Coast U.S. shrine, Disneyland. During their 90-minute visit at the vast fantasy park outside Los Angeles, the imperial couple chatted with a king-sized Mickey Mouse and watched a Bicentennial parade. What interested the Emperor most? Disneyland's diorama of primeval life in the Grand Canyon, depicting a variety of prehistoric animals—all of which seemed far more familiar to Hirohito, an avid natural scientist, than Disney's creations.

Disneyland was only one of several stops on the eclectic imperial itinerary, which last week extended—in mood and manner as well as geography—from the canyons of New York City to the quiet beaches of Honolulu. The week began with a helicopter ride out of Manhattan for a sedate visit with Vice President Nelson Rockefeller and his wife Happy at the handsome Japanese-style house

they have built on their Pocantico Hills estate. Rockefeller, playing tourist in his own home, snapped souvenir photos of his distinguished visitors.

Later the couple flew to Chicago, where the Emperor raised a toast to Mayor Richard J. Daley (for his "remarkable achievements" in government) and, on a side trip, inspected a 2,500-acre corn and soybean farm near Joliet, Ill.

In Los Angeles, the main event—besides the Disneyland tour—was a luncheon at the Music Center attended by 530 of the city's leading lights, including John Wayne, whom Hirohito specifically asked to meet. In Los Angeles, and later in San Francisco and San Diego, the Emperor also met scores of Japanese Americans, whom he praised at one point for "withstanding many difficulties" in the U.S. At week's end the imperial couple flew on to Hawaii, where they planned to spend three days touring and resting before they boarded their jet this week for the long ride home to Tokyo.

LEBANON

Bloody Round 4 in Beirut

A wave of mounting despair swept across Lebanon through most of last week, as the conflict between left-wing Moslem and right-wing Christian factions exploded into yet another round of fighting. The strife that had intermittently rocked the country since April was spreading. The street battles were fiercer than ever, and the government seemed unable to halt them. Reflecting the grim mood was Radio Lebanon Announcer Sharif Akhawi, who said on the air: "Armed men are everywhere. All roads are closed. Blood maniacs are at large. We are losing Lebanon."

At week's end, however, there was at least a faint ray of hope. A new truce—arranged by President Hafez Assad of Syria, Palestine Liberation Organization Leader Yasser Arafat and Lebanese Premier Rashid Karami—seemed to be making some headway. In parts of Beirut, Christians and Moslems tore down barricades and gun emplacements and were aided by army bulldozers. But elsewhere in the capital, the combatants continued exchanging gunfire. The week's senseless violence had taken 100 lives, raising the death toll since April to more than 2,500, and had devastated even more of Beirut, turning the capital's urban landscape into a scarred battlefield (see color).

Shaky Truce. The latest round of fighting in Beirut, fourth in the tragic sequence, rippled into other areas of Lebanon, principally Moslem Tripoli and the neighboring predominantly Christian town of Zgharta. The shooting began after a shaky and frequently violated two-week truce, during which it seemed for a time that the wobbly "rescue" government of Premier Karami might be able to contain the situation. With help from Syria, which does not want uncontrolled civil war on its doorstep, Karami had worked out a ceasefire between the heavily armed Christian and Moslem guerrillas. Karami hastily put together a "National Reconciliation Committee," whose 20 members represented most of Lebanon's religious and political factions.

New battles flared up even as the committee struggled for ways to end the current skirmishing and solve the religious and class differences that underlay the shooting. Bulldozers had hardly cleared away old rubble from previous fighting when debris came crashing down into the streets from new explosions. Random incidents, typical of the insanity that stalks Lebanon today, added to the intensity of the fighting. Two mortar rounds, apparently fired on aim-

less trajectories from undisclosed positions, hit a street in one of Beirut's Moslem quarters where harried housewives had queued up to buy bread; 24 were killed and 40 wounded. A rocket round elsewhere took the lives of five young children. Christians were appalled when they heard of a Moslem attack on a Christian village in the north of Lebanon; at least 15 people were massacred and 40 houses destroyed.

Early in the week, the weather seemed to cooperate in cooling things off a bit. The first rain of autumn, a torrential downpour, inundated streets chasing snipers to shelter and for a short time, at least, swallowing the sound of the guns. "God has sent his rain to put out the fire," announced Radio Lebanon's Akhawi during one broadcast. "Pray that it will also wash our hearts. It did not, unfortunately."

The spreading battle set more and more fires, whose smoke soon covered much of eastern Beirut and hung like a giant cloud over ships in the port. Lebanese firemen, assisted by nine fire engines sent from Damascus, were unable to reach the flames because of the shooting. Reported TIME Beirut Bureau Chief Karsten Prager: "The ferocity of the fighting deepened the numbness that had been there all along, the recognition by most Lebanese of their total impotence in changing the course of events. The rattle and thump of gunfire took the city in jitters. Rightists and leftist militias blasted away at one another in the old downtown area and in the familiar hot spots of Ain Rummaneh, Chiyah, Ashrafiyeh and Furn Chbebbi all along the eastern and southern peripheries of the city."

Roving Gangs. "Almost all of the capital, with the exception of its northwest corner, remained unsafe and paralyzed. A 6 p.m.-to-5 a.m. curfew had little effect on street fighters and roving gangs of *plastiques*, who blew up a few more shops, adding to the 500 or more already destroyed. The right-wing Christian Phalange claimed that more than 400 mortar shells, a respectable amount in any military engagement, fell on one of its strongholds, the Ashrafiyeh quarter, during a single day."

Premier Karami did not commit the country's 18,000-man armed forces to help stop the fighting, primarily because most of its officers are Christian and, therefore, Moslems charge, pro-Phalange. Since the shooting first started in April, ineffectual President Suleiman Franjeh, a mountain man from Zgharta, has done little either to mediate



WOUNDED WOMAN IS CARRIED OUT OF BEIRUT BATTLE ZONE

Lebanese Phalangist militiaman on patrol in bombed-out section of Beirut.

MICHEL COMTE—GAMMA—LIAISON



Battle scenes (clockwise): A Phalangist fighter under fire; smoke from burning buildings; left-wing commandos firing from behind barricades; destroyed shops in Beirut.



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war or to calm his frightened people. In desperation, Karami drove to Damascus to confer with Syria's Assad and P.L.O. Leader Arafat, as 320,000 Palestinians living in Lebanon are a central point of conflict between Moslems, who support them, and Christians, who resent their presence.

Assad, unwilling to become too involved in the Lebanese imbroglio, demanded that Arafat and Karami press the Moslems into a cease-fire while President Franjeh and Interior Minister Camille Chamoun, a former President and prominent Maronite Christian, simultaneously pressure their side. Arafat agreed to postpone a trip to Saudi Arabia in order to help restore calm, and discussions began at week's end on possible joint Moslem-Christian patrols to enforce a cease-fire. The patrols have been tried previously with little success.

Reign Ended. Other Arab nations were frightened by the continuing violence in what was once considered one of the Arab League's least violent nations. Acting on a proposal by Kuwait, the league called foreign ministers of 20 member nations to a meeting this week in Cairo to discuss possible solutions to the Lebanese crisis.

Even if the new truce holds, the latest round of fighting has probably ended Beirut's long reign as the commercial queen of the Arab world. At least 25,000 Lebanese, including many prominent businessmen, have taken refuge in Damascus, while others have fled to Athens or other points in Europe. More than 60% of the 1,000 Japanese assigned to Beirut have left the country. The list of American firms that have ordered their personnel or their dependents to leave Lebanon reads like a roll call of U.S. business overseas: General Electric, General Motors, Boeing, Lockheed, FMC Corp., International Harvester, American Cyanamid, Raytheon, First National City Bank, Chase Manhattan, Morgan Guaranty, Irving Trust. "When the hanks move out," observed one evacuated businessman last week, "that means the end of Beirut."

Many of the companies have shifted operations to Athens, 700 air miles and 100 minutes away. Many will probably stay on, partly because of Athens proximity to the Middle East, partly because of a Greek law granting generous tax-free status to foreign companies that have headquarters in Greece but do no business inside the country. There is apparently more than enough space for the corporate refugees from the fighting in the Lebanese capital. Last week, reported *TIME*'s Dean Brelis from Athens, the companies were rapidly filling up empty offices in a 24-story business building in downtown Athens. The previous tenant was a logistics branch of the U.S. Navy, which was forced to move out when the Greek government ended Sixth Fleet home-porting facilities in protest against American policy on Cyprus.

PORTUGAL

The Battle of the Barracks

The former comrades-in-arms of Portugal's military revolution are beginning to look more and more like opposing forces. Last week all military units in northern Portugal were placed on strict alert and confined to barracks following the mutiny of an artillery regiment near the city of Oporto. The 650 mutineers at the Serra do Pilar Regiment ran a red banner up the flagpole and demanded the dismissal of the region's new anti-Communist military commander, General Antonio Pires Veloso. They also demanded an end to what they called "purges" of leftists from the barracks and the reopening of a leftist-controlled military-transport center that had been shut down on orders from Pires Veloso the previous week. The general responded by threatening to bomb the rebels out of the occupied barracks. When the leftist soldiers, in control of 700 tons of light arms and ammunition, refused to move, General Pires Veloso backed down and called off the alert. By week's end clashes between civilian supporters and opponents of the soldiers had resulted in more than 50 injuries.

The mutiny at Oporto provoked a flurry of other military and civilian protests. The demand for "internal democracy" within the armed forces—meaning the right of the troops to debate every military decision—was asserted by regiments throughout the country. At the headquarters of the 1st Light Artillery Regiment outside Lisbon, hundreds of left-wing soldiers, sailors and airmen gathered to protest what they called Premier Jose Pinheiro de Azevedo's attempt to restore "a right-wing dictatorship under the cover of social democracy." The mutinous military men joined some

3,000 civilians chanting such slogans as "Fascists out of the barracks."

The forces challenging Pinheiro de Azevedo's attempt to restore discipline represent a mixed bag of revolutionary groups. Their capacity for disruption is at this point much greater than their numbers would seem to warrant. The political far left (see box page 36) is made up of several fringe political parties, six of which have banded together as the United Revolutionary Front. The radical military leftists, who have organized themselves illegally into a group called Soldiers United Victorious (SUV), probably represent no more than 6% of the total armed forces. They are concentrated in the Lisbon area, and may control as many as half of the eight units stationed near the capital. Many of the 30,000 weapons that have been stolen from the military in the past year are believed to have passed from leftist soldiers to members of the United Revolutionary Front.

Some Italians. For the first time last week, there was talk of a third unsettling element in Portugal: an international brigade of revolutionaries who have come to support the country's radical left. Pinheiro de Azevedo estimated their numbers at 2,500 so far, and says that they are mostly South Americans, particularly Chileans, and some Italians.

The combined force of the civilian and military far left could create a situation disruptive enough to topple Pinheiro de Azevedo's moderate-leftist coalition government. Socialist Party Leader Mario Soares last week warned that if military discipline was not firmly established soon, "we will find ourselves in a state of chaos in which no

RADICAL PARTY OFFICES UNDER ATTACK AS VIOLENCE ERUPTS IN OPORTO



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one knows who has power and who can govern." The Communists, who were given only one Cabinet seat in the new government to four for the Socialists and two for the moderate Popular Democrats, plainly enjoyed the wave of military unrest.

Far Right. The government is also concerned these days about the far right, which Pinheiro de Azevedo describes as "ten times more dangerous" than the radical left. Right-wing terrorists recently claimed responsibility for seven bombs that exploded throughout the country one weekend late last month. The Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal (M.D.L.P.), which counts former President António de Spínola among its exiled leaders, claims as many as 40,000 members. One Madrid-based M.D.L.P. leader, Alpoim Calvão, has boasted that his liberation army will be marching into Lisbon by Christmas.

Pinheiro de Azevedo (*see following story*) has responded to the threat of an-

archy with unexpected firmness. When the admiral was first named Premier, many regarded him simply as the malleable crony of President Francisco de Costa Gomes. He has proved to be, in the words of one Western diplomat, "an old sea dog who occasionally likes to see his orders carried out." Taking advantage of Costa Gomes' recent trip to Moscow, the admiral asserted his temporary one-man rule by clamping down on radical leftist broadcasters and military dissidents (TIME, Oct. 13). When Portugal's radical Security Chief Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho led a leftist mob to the Premier's palace three weeks ago, the admiral handled what might have turned into an on-the-spot coup by simply ordering his aides to "throw the fool out."

Pinheiro de Azevedo, however, lacks an independent political base, and his ability to restore order in Portugal depends largely on the support he receives from a few key figures. Since his return from the U.S.S.R., President Costa Gomes has taken up the admiral's cry of

"Discipline, discipline." But confrontation is not the President's natural style, and he might well jump the admiral's ship if the leftists within the army continue to gain strength. The past 18 months have shown Saraiva de Carvalho's political allegiances to be too mercurial for prediction. Although still within the coalition, the Communists have already begun to temper their support. Yet the Premier apparently can still count on the backing of the very powerful Revolutionary Council of the Armed Forces Movement; at week's end, it reaffirmed "its support of the government in its efforts to resolve the crisis."

Meanwhile, the government was getting promises of more help from outside of Portugal. Last week, the White House announced that it will send to Congress a proposed \$55 million emergency aid package for Portugal. Similarly, the nine foreign ministers of the European Economic Community agreed last week to grant Portugal \$187 million in long-term, low-interest loans.

The Brigades: Voices of Chaos

To some Lisbon radicals, even the Communist Party is a moderate force. Currently, the main cause of trouble in Portugal is the extreme left, which consists of eight small, zealous, fragmented parties and other organizations, each of which has its cohort of workers, soldiers and neighborhood committees. The groups range from the Portuguese Democratic Movement, which is generally regarded as a front for the Communists (the M.D.P. denies it) to the Maoist Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletariat, a noisy, university-based party, hundreds of whose members were jailed during the Communist-influenced regime of ousted Premier Vasco dos Santos Gonçalves. Hydra-headed, the extreme left is united in at least one goal: to overthrow the present moderate government.

The leftist organization that probably has the greatest potential for destruction is the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat, popularly known as the Revolutionary Brigades. Headed by Isabel do Carmo—the "Rosa Luxemburg" of the Portuguese revolution—the Brigades believe that armed action is justified to overthrow the government. They have many of the estimated 30,000 weapons stolen from the army, and the allegiance of

thousands of low-ranking soldiers and sailors. "The movement must be accompanied by force," Carmo recently told TIME's Martha de la Cal. "There must be an armed insurrection." She added: "I think we have sufficient arms. We are well organized in the barracks and in the armed forces."

Carmo's soft voice belies her harsh words, but there is good reason to take



BRIGADES LEADER ISABEL DO CARMO

her Revolutionary Brigades seriously: they have been violently assaulting Portugal's governments for the past four years. In November 1971, shortly after they defected from the Communist Party because they regarded it as too bourgeois, they blew up the NATO base at Fonte da Telha. In 1972 they stole hundreds of pounds of explosives from the army and blew up 15 army trucks; that same year they also severed the ocean

cables linking Portugal to Africa and America. They bombed two army installations in Lisbon and one base in Oporto in 1973.

According to the Brigades' most recent handbook, violence is the only means by which the proletariat can take power away from the bourgeoisie. Once that transfer of power is made, the centralized government will be abolished and control will go to small local assemblies. "There can be no halfway solutions, no half measures," asserts Carmo. "That won't work. We must have either pure socialism or we will go back to fascism. The workers in Portugal have shown that they do not want central power or a central authority."

The Brigades' members make no secret of their contempt for Communists—or anyone else who advocates other solutions—though they have been pragmatic enough to join the other radical groups in a united front against the government. Premier Pinheiro de Azevedo's government is let off rather lightly as being hopelessly ineffectual. "It has all of the intentions to be repressive, but it is not able to be," Carmo says genially.

Short and plump with long dark hair, Isabel do Carmo, 35, is the daughter of an office worker in the factory town of Barreiro, an industrial suburb of Lisbon. She became a Communist at 15 and kept up with the party through years of medical school (an endocrinologist, she still sees patients twice a week). She broke with the Communists eight years ago to form the Brigades with her husband, Carlos Antunes (no kin to moderate Foreign Minister Ernesto de Melo Antunes). She clearly is the organization's boss. "In our party," says Carmo, "being a woman is no problem. After all, it is a revolutionary party."

*Rosa Luxemburg was a Polish-born Marxist revolutionary who led the German workers' uprisings that followed World War I. She died in 1919, following a beating by soldiers in Berlin.

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PORTUGUESE PREMIER PINHEIRO DE AZEVEDO

Straight Talk From an Admiral

Shortly after Premier José Batista Pinheiro de Azevedo took office last month, Portuguese Socialists dubbed him "the admiral without fear." A warm, outgoing man with ruddy skin, thick hands and peasant features, Pinheiro de Azevedo, 58, does not much like the nickname but concedes: "In some ways it is correct because when I have a decision in my head, I put it into action immediately." Last week, at his office in Lisbon's São Bento palace, Pinheiro de Azevedo talked candidly about some of the decisions he faces with *TIME* Correspondent George Taber. It was the first interview that the Premier has given to an American journalist. Excerpts from the conversation.

HIS DISCIPLINE PROGRAM. I believe my way is correct. I do not like to use pressure in this way. I don't like pressure, especially on the press. But I believe it is necessary to explain thoroughly to our people what we are doing and what is best for them. We must do this very quickly. If we wait more than one week, military discipline can break down very suddenly. If [our] army breaks down, we will have no army, and after that we will have no force, and after that we will have no authority and no government. All steps run together. Restoring discipline at this moment is our No. 1 problem. The economic difficulty is as important as discipline, but today I must get discipline in the right place. We are very anxious about the future of our revolution. I think if the government can't get the confidence of the soldiers it is not possible to go ahead with the revolution.

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POLITICAL SITUATION.

Lisbon is further down the road to the revolution. In Lisbon, the best workers, the best politicians and the best military men come together. It is different in the countryside. The men are not as politicized. They have worked in agriculture and they are very religious. They are poor men. They are also our concern. I don't say they are better or worse; we must also have their support. It is not easy [for them] to change suddenly. We must be patient. There are two countries in [Portuguese] politics: Lisbon and outside Lisbon.

There is still a danger of armed conflict within the army. I am quite certain that the [right-wing forces] are interested in setting the best units we have against each other.

THE LONGEVITY OF HIS

GOVERNMENT. It is too early to say how long my government will last. In my opinion, it is not now going in a good direction. The left in Portugal is unhappy. They believe the government is too far to the right. And it is necessary to do something about this because the government is not of the right. I intend to convince them with action. On subjects like agrarian reform, I am quite sure that just talking is the wrong way to resolve things. Action is the only way.

HIS GOVERNMENT'S RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY. I talk often with the leaders of the Communist Party. I am not quite sure that they support me very strongly. But they like me. I explain to them everything I think. That is why they like to hear me. I am

quite certain that they support me sufficiently. Not very strongly but strongly enough so that I can work with them. The Communist Party is not yet dangerous. All Communist parties can become dangerous, but it is not now. The Italian, French and Spanish Communist parties are now mild. But in the future? We don't know. Portugal has the same problem.

ON RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND WESTERN EUROPE.

Our relations with the U.S. are beginning to improve. If I can run my country one month more like this, I am quite certain that the relations between us and the U.S. and Europe will be much better. But we must stay one month more. The apprehension in the U.S. from the time of my predecessor is a little weaker but not completely gone.

SPAIN

Random Killings, Rightist Fears

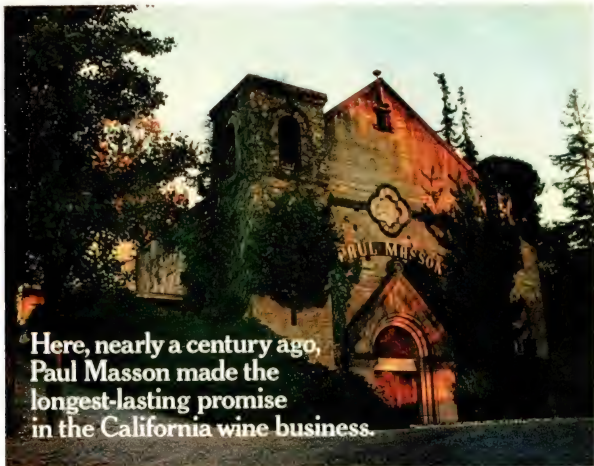
It was almost impossible to pick up a Spanish newspaper or switch on television last week without seeing grim photographs of dead policemen or pictures of coffins ready for burial. The images bore dramatic witness to the increasingly bitter and violent confrontation between the regime of Generalissimo Francisco Franco and its radical opponents. By week's end, eleven more Spaniards were dead. Thirty police officers and members of the Guardia Civil and 29 civilians have been killed since January 1974.

Dynamite Charge. Cause of the new wave of violence: the execution last month of five terrorists convicted at summary military trials of murdering policemen (*TIME*, Oct. 6). Basque separatists and radical leftists of the Patriotic Revolutionary Anti-Fascist Front (FRAP) tried to avenge the executions with new killings. Early last week, four Guardia Civil officers in the Basque country were lured to a remote area by a report that the outlawed red, white and green flag of the separatists was flying over a Roman Catholic monastery. A dynamite charge, set in the rocks at roadside, blew their Land Rover 60 ft into the air; three officers were killed and the fourth was seriously wounded.

At midweek, a small white car sped past police headquarters in the Barcelona suburb of La Verneda just after midnight and sprayed the modern building with machine-gun fire. No one was injured. A few moments later, another white car approached the station. Trigger-happy police, believing the second

SPANISH PREMIER ARIAS NAVARRO





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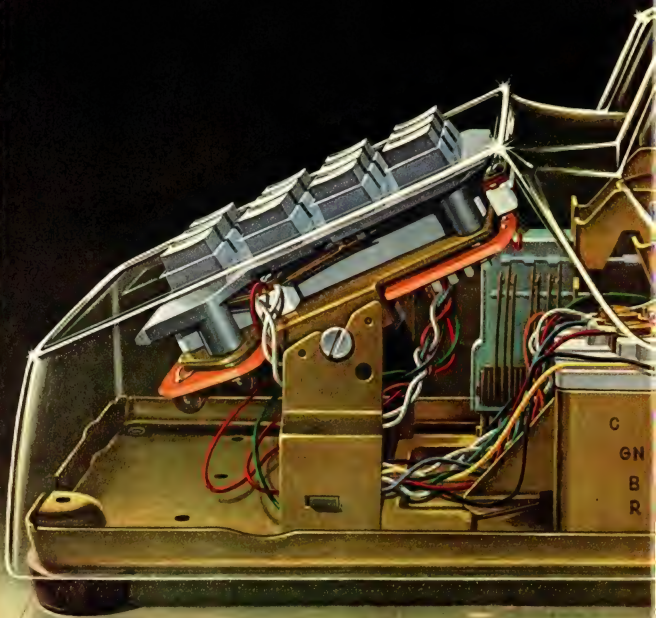
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THREE POLICEMEN SLAIN IN BOMB ATTACK

car to be part of the assault, blazed away with their weapons, killing the auto's passengers—a couple and their son returning home from a wake. For reasons still unknown, the police inside the headquarters then fired at a gray police Jeep that had been following the second car; two officers were killed. "The police are nervous," was one government officer's explanation. The next day, a Spanish military attaché in France was critically wounded after being shot three times in his chest and stomach when he answered the door of his Paris suburban apartment. A French leftist group named after Juan Paredes Manot—one of the five executed terrorists—claimed credit for the shooting.

Spanish Premier Carlos Arias Navarro huddled with his Cabinet three times last week. After Friday's session, the government announced a shake-up of the army command, naming a tough new head of the Guardia Civil and new commanders for four military regions, including Madrid. The next day, the government released eleven Basques being held for terrorist acts. Four Basques remain in jail, awaiting sentences for cop-killing; under a law enacted last August, a mandatory death sentence faces anyone convicted of killing a policeman.

Madrid's freeing of the eleven prisoners may be an attempt to placate Western Europe, which was enraged at the executions earlier this month. Yet last week there was growing evidence that Europe's anti-Spanish passions were cooling and that reaction by foreign officials to any new executions by

Madrid might be muted. The ambassadors of Switzerland, Britain and West Germany, who had originally been withdrawn, were all back on the job in Madrid. The French leftist daily *Quotidien de Paris* reflected the serious second thoughts about Europe's earlier outburst. In a front-page article, it noted "The reprobation against Franco's excesses gives a good conscience to other nations at a time when political torture [exists] in 70 countries. Tass denounced 'Franco repressions,' but how do the Russians deal with their political opposition?"

Rightists' Demands. If the random killings continue, the survival of Arias' government will come into question. "As you can see," admitted an aide to the Premier last week, "matters are not under control." Indeed, at a pro-Franco rally in Valencia, only one speaker mentioned the Premier. Unless Arias can contain the terror, Spanish rightists will demand a tougher anti-reform government—perhaps even a military regime.

Although the army's senior officers remain loyal to Franco and are fiercely anti-Communist, leftist ideas—perhaps as a result of the Portuguese experience—have apparently taken root among some younger officers. Last week three middle-ranking officers in Barcelona were arrested; they are suspected of having links with the Basque terrorists and with a Madrid underground cell of nine leftist dissidents who were charged with sedition and jailed three months ago. That kind of radicalization, if it spreads, does not promise an orderly political succession in the post-Franco era. Said a high government official last week: "I used to think the chances of an orderly transfer of power were 90%. After these past weeks, I now say 70% and the numbers are declining."

THE MIDDLE EAST

The Spirit of the Sinai Settlement

In a mood of diplomatic euphoria, Israeli and United Nations officials gathered in Jerusalem last Friday afternoon. Word flashed from Washington that Congress had finally approved a resolution under which 200 U.S. technicians will be sent to Sinai to monitor the Egyptian-Israeli accord. As a result, Israeli representatives, who had previously only initiated the interim agreements, were now prepared to sign them formally. After doing so, Israel's Foreign Ministry Director Avraham Kidron exchanged champagne toasts with the U.N. observers and glanced at his watch. In ten minutes, Kidron announced confidently, Israeli officials at Ras Sudr, on the northern tip of the Gulf of Suez, would transfer the oilfields back to Egyptian sovereignty.

Even as Kidron spoke, this historic step toward a Middle East peace was becoming bogged down in an unexpected small diplomatic snarl. The Egyptian representatives who showed up to reclaim the fields were not Egyptians but three cigar-chomping Texans who work for Mobil Oil, the corporation owns 50% of the Egyptian company that had operated the fields before Israel captured them during the Six-Day War. The Israelis in charge of Ras Sudr insisted that the Texans had to sign for the Arab Republic of Egypt. Well, no, said Engineering Consultant Billy Marcum of Dallas; he and his buddies were empowered to sign only for Mobil. Israeli Representative Meir Gueron replied that the Jewish Sabbath would begin soon. Unless Marcum agreed to represent Egypt as well as Mobil, the Israelis could not sign any transfer until after the Sabbath ended, 24 hours later. Agreement was finally reached. On behalf of a sovereign Arab nation, a Texas oilman received the field from Israel, with an Irish army captain on U.N. observer duty as witness.

Successful Crossing. The fact the deal was indeed made indicated that both sides were really concerned about creating a cooperative new spirit of Sinai. Egyptian anxiousness that the accord be carried out was apparent as the country celebrated the anniversary of the successful crossing of the Suez Canal by Egyptian troops. In other years, such an observance would have been the occasion for anti-Zionist rhetoric. This year the mood was celebratory—partly because it coincided with the religious festival of *Id el Fitri*, when Muslims end their month-long Ramadan fast.

Israel, meanwhile, was acting with equivalent aplomb. Even though Jerusalem did not sign the agreement until last week, the government had earlier decided to honor a timetable drawn up

THE WORLD

as though it had. Thus the Mobil engineers were welcomed heartily when they first arrived at Ras Sudr under U.N. escort, a day before the signing ceremony. An Israeli colonel in charge of the pullback from the fields told TIME Correspondent Marlin Levin: "We will leave the oilfields to the Egyptians just as we found them. We have even cleaned up the mosque for them."

The congressional action on which last week's moves depended came after delays that the Administration had not foreseen. The House, by a 341-69 vote, approved the congressional resolution that the White House had requested; one day later, the Senate agreed by a 70-18 margin. The overwhelming votes were deceiving: the resolution had been held back by sharp attacks from Kissinger's congressional critics and outside experts like former Under Secretary of State George Ball, who argued that Kissinger's step-by-step approach hindered an overall peace settlement more than it helped. Nonetheless, Ball urged Congress to approve the accord, since to vote it down would embarrass the U.S.

The Washington debate over the technicians foreshadowed further fighting between Congress and the Administration over the Sinai accord. Technicians and additional warning stations will cost \$10 million annually to support, which Congress must still authorize and appropriate; arms programs for both Israel and Egypt must also be approved. Judging from the criticism so far, Kissinger may not get all he has promised in the way of U.S. support.

After approval of the technicians' resolution last week, Israeli leaders hailed the accord as a significant treaty binding the U.S. and Israel together to a degree that Presidents since Harry Truman's time have resisted. They were unhappy that Kissinger, in defending his diplomatic handiwork to Congress, appeared to take a less exuberant view.

Moral Obligations. The controversy involved how far Kissinger had actually committed the U.S. in the course of his shuttle diplomacy. The Secretary argued that only two items bound the U.S.—the presence of the technicians and a promise to provide Israel with oil if necessary to replace supplies lost because of the return to Egypt of the Sinai fields. Israeli experts on international law contended that the accompanying secret accords Congress made public (TIME, Oct. 13) had the force of a treaty; in their view Kissinger had also bound the U.S. to resupply Israel militarily in the case of another war and to provide military and economic aid on a planned, prolonged schedule. Israelis regarded the commitments as legal ones. Kissinger regarded them as moral obligations. If Israel were to be attacked in another Middle Eastern war, the distinction would be irrelevant. But the dispute over what the promises did represent put an uncertain cloud over the new spirit of Sinai.



SITE OF ISRAELI UNDERGROUND SURVEILLANCE STATION AT UMM KHISHEIB IN SINAI

Sinai Life: Bugs and 'Bedouinism'

"It seems incredible," says Fodor's *Guide to the Sinai Peninsula*, "but there has been a constant flow of traffic across this corner of hell since time immemorial." Last week the U.S. Congress passed a joint resolution that will allow some 200 American technicians to become the latest pilgrims to the Sinai. The U.S. technicians will act as "custodians" at two multimillion-dollar surveillance sites along the Giddi Pass. They will also man two or three new watch stations in the area. Their life will not be easy, as TIME's Jerusalem bureau chief Donald Neff discovered when he went on a Jeepborne tour of the area. His report:

The passes are 2,000-ft.-high barren outcrops of granite and sandstone, sparsely dotted with desert scrub. Beyond is the vast loneliness of the desert. The only evidence of man is a narrow, two-lane asphalt road that slithers along for 20 miles through the minefields and war wreckage surrounding the passes, and the bristling patch of antennas that mark the sophisticated, underground listening post at Umm Khisheib, northwest of Giddi. Except for Egyptian, Israeli and U.N. soldiers, the only people the Americans are likely to see are camel-riding Bedouins early wandering through the emptiness with no apparent destination.

The climate is as burdensome as the loneliness. Temperatures during the day frequently soar above 110° F. and at night occasionally plunge below freezing. The silence is total, except when broken by wind whistling through the sere brush. Often the passes turn into wind tunnels, with sandstorms gusting

through at 20 and 30 miles an hour. In the winter, sudden cloudbursts can cause flash floods.

Unless the Americans discipline themselves to keep busy, they will quickly fall prey to what Israeli soldiers call "Bedouinism." Dr. Amnon Shapira, a Tel Aviv physician who has served in the Sinai, describes the malaise as a pathological lethargy. "You lose all interest in everything. You don't wash, you have no energy or motivation. It's a matter of not letting the desert get the better of you."

The more immediate hazards, however, are physical. The wide-ranging temperatures cause respiratory infections: chronic colds, coughs and sore throats. The highly chlorinated water that is piped to the desert often brings on stomach cramps and nausea. Dehydration comes on quickly during the daytime heat, and unless the Americans drink much more water than they are accustomed to, they will be vulnerable to sunstroke and fainting spells.

Swarms of sand fleas, mosquitoes and flies infest the area. There are also scorpions and several varieties of poisonous snakes, including a viper that is only eight inches long but extremely toxic. To avoid snake bite, Israeli soldiers in the Sinai have been ordered to wear boots rather than sandals, which in turn has led to a virtual epidemic of athlete's foot.

In one sense, all this should be reassuring to the incoming U.S. technicians. Between sandstorms and flash floods, bouts of dehydration and nausea and attacks by insects and vipers, they should find little time to lapse into the dread Bedouinism.



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AWARDS

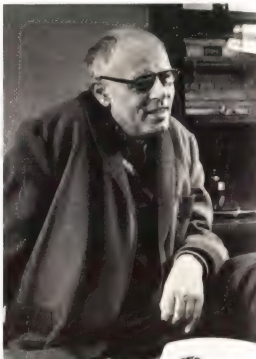
The Climax of a Lonely Struggle

The news from Norway that the Nobel Peace Prize had been given to a Russian for the first time in the 74-year history of the award was broadcast to the Soviet Union last week by U.S. and West European short-wave radio. For Winner Andrei Sakharov, 54, the prize climaxed a long and often lonely struggle for human rights in the Soviet Union. Dressed in a baggy gray suit and ill-fitting shirt, he talked with newsmen in his gloomy two-room apartment near the Kremlin. "I hope this will help political prisoners," he said. The phone rang constantly with calls from friends and well-wishers in Russia and abroad. His wife, Pediatrician Yelena Bonner, telephoned congratulations from Italy, where she is recovering from an operation for glaucoma. Connected by phone with Norwegian radio, he broadcast a message, in broken German, saying he was extremely pleased and proud. He added that he hoped to come to Oslo to receive the medal and the \$140,000 prize money at the ceremony to be held Dec. 10, the 79th anniversary of the death of Swedish Munitions Merchant Alfred Nobel.

Nobel had provided for the establishment of the Peace Prize in his will. Evidently, he was deeply troubled by the destruction caused by his invention of dynamite and smokeless gunpowder. Of all the 72 recipients of the prize since 1901, probably none comes closer than Sakharov to the spirit of Nobel's bequest. The father of the Soviet hydrogen bomb, Sakharov went on to become an indefatigable fighter for thermonuclear disarmament and democracy in the U.S.S.R. The citation by the Nobel committee in Oslo called him "a firm believer in the brotherhood of man, in genuine coexistence, as the only way to save mankind . . . As a nuclear physicist," the citation continued, "he has, with his special insight and responsibility, been able to speak out against the dangers inherent in the armaments race between states." The five-member Nobel committee, appointed by the Norwegian Parliament, reportedly rejected 50 other candidates under consideration, including Finnish President Urho Kekkonen, for whom Soviet officials have been campaigning.

Blasted Nobel. It seems improbable that the Kremlin will let Sakharov travel to Oslo. Writers Boris Pasternak and Alexander Solzhenitsyn were not able to go to Stockholm in 1958 and 1970 to receive their Nobel Prizes for Literature. The peace award to Sakharov was

even more objectionable to the Soviet leaders. Sakharov is still the U.S.S.R.'s most famous scientist and a Stalin prize winner who was decorated three times with the nation's highest civilian award as a Hero of Socialist Labor. Nevertheless, his eloquent critique of Soviet oppression has cut even deeper than the condemnations of Solzhenitsyn. Twenty-four hours after the announcement of the award in Oslo, the Soviet news agency Tass blasted the Nobel committee for "political speculation" with peace prizes and branded Sakharov an "anti-patriot."



ANDREI SAKHAROV IN HIS MOSCOW APARTMENT
Offering a haven and a refuge.

who "has taken a stand against his own country . . . and joined with the most reactionary, imperialist circles which are actively opposing the policy of peaceful coexistence."

Sakharov has been maligned and threatened by Kremlin bosses ever since he provoked the anger of then Party Chief Nikita Khrushchev in 1961. At that time, Khrushchev planned to violate the East-West moratorium on nuclear testing with a 100-megaton explosion of a hydrogen bomb. Fearing the consequences of massive radioactive fallout, Sakharov objected in a memo to Khrushchev, who was shocked by his insubordination. In 1964 Sakharov further enraged the party chief by successfully rallying scientific colleagues in opposition to a Khrushchev candidate for

election to the Academy of Science.

Sakharov's metamorphosis from a prosperous and privileged member of the Soviet scientific establishment into Russia's leading dissident began when he realized he had not the slightest control over the testing, let alone the use, of the terrible weapon he had developed. "After that, I felt myself another man. It was a basic break." The break was sharpened in 1968, when Sakharov published in the West an eloquent appeal for nuclear-arms reduction called "Thoughts on Progress, Peaceful Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom." In that essay he predicted a convergence between the Communist and capitalist systems in the distant future. Since then he has concentrated his attention on

pleading for Soviet political prisoners and victims of psychiatric abuse in police lunatic asylums. He contributes most of his present monthly honorarium of \$400 as a member of the Academy of Sciences to families of jailed dissidents and to a special fund he has set up for the children of political prisoners. His tiny apartment is a haven and refuge for dissidents seeking advice, help and moral support. Guests sleep in the kitchen, bathroom and corridor.

Dark Reality. In his political views, Sakharov is closer to Western social democrats than he is to Solzhenitsyn, whom he has criticized for favoring a regime for Russia that harks back to czarist authoritarianism. In a new book to be published in the U.S. next month, *My Country and the World* (TIME, Aug. 4), Sakharov deplores Kremlin repression of national minorities and its support of dictatorships in such countries as Libya and Uganda. He also returns to the subject that most haunts him. "The unchecked growth of thermonuclear arsenals and the buildup toward confrontation threaten mankind with the death of civilization and physical annihilation," he warns. Sakharov accuses the Soviet Union of rigidly resisting verification of compliance with nuclear-arms limitations and calls for on-site inspection, the abandonment of offensive nuclear missiles and a ban on deployment and further sophistication of U.S. and Soviet strategic antimissile systems. "Thermonuclear warfare has already become a dark reality of modern times," he argues, "like Auschwitz, the Gulag and famine. Perhaps I feel this more acutely than many people but I believe that no one can shed his share of responsibility for something upon which the existence of mankind depends." If Sakharov cannot deliver the Peace Prize address in Oslo, these words might still serve as a fitting memorial to the hopes of Alfred Nobel.

UNITED NATIONS

Moynihan's First Fight

"We have not gone out looking for fights. But we haven't run away from any." So last week said Daniel P. Moynihan, who found himself embroiled in his first major diplomatic brawl since becoming U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations three months ago. Publicly squared off against him initially were U.N. representatives of numerous African states, who were furious at what they regarded as his rude attack on Uganda's President Idi Amin Dada and, by implication, on other black African leaders as well.

No Accident. The Africans were angered by a weekend speech that Moynihan gave at the AFI-CIO convention in San Francisco. There, he sharply denounced the bizarre anti-U.S. address that Amin had delivered to the General Assembly two days earlier, in which Big Daddy had also demanded "the extinction of Israel as a state" (TIME, Oct. 13). Ignoring diplomatic niceties, Moynihan acerbically noted that "it's no accident. I fear, that this 'racist murderer'—as one of our leading newspapers [the New York Times] called him this morning—is head of the Organization of African Unity." When focusing on the Third World, Moynihan charged: "Every day at the U.N., on every side, we are assailed because we are a democracy. In the U.N. today there are in the range of two dozen democracies left: totalitarian Communist regimes and assorted ancient and modern despotisms make up all the rest. Nothing so unites these nations as the conviction that their success ultimately depends on our failure. Most of the new states have

ended up as enemies of freedom."

As soon as the General Assembly reconvened last week, black African and Arab spokesmen launched a blistering counterattack. Dahomey's Ambassador Tiemiou Adjibade—currently chairman of the U.N.'s African group—blasted Moynihan for "a deliberately provocative act vis-à-vis President Amin and an unfriendly act toward the O.A.U. If Mr. Moynihan wishes to base his strategy in the U.N. on irreverence, flippancy and irresponsibility, let him know right now that the African group will not allow itself to be intimidated."

Far from being contrite, the U.S. slugged back. In Moynihan's defense, U.S. Delegate Clarence Mitchell, an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, compared Amin—who brutally expelled at least 50,000 Asians in 1972 for racial as well as political reasons and has had killed anywhere from 25,000 to 250,000 Ugandans who opposed his dictatorial regime—to Adolf Hitler. Meanwhile, Moynihan shrugged off the furor at the U.N., insisting that Amin had started it when "he slandered and blasphemed the American people by saying that we let the country be run by Zionists." Then a White House spokesman declared that President Ford felt that Moynihan "said what needed to be said."

Brutal Buffoon. Moynihan had cleared the general contents of his San Francisco speech with the State Department but not its specific language. If he had done so, Washington's African experts might well have advised him not to implicate other leaders of the continent in his attack on Big Daddy. The O.A.U. heads of state, in fact, agreed only reluctantly to Amin's being their chairman this year. It is also no secret that many African leaders are privately displeased and embarrassed that a brutal buffoon like Amin can claim to speak for all Africa. In fact, when the O.A.U. summit convened in Kampala last July, only 19 of the 46 heads of state attended.

By week's end Moynihan's aggressive diplomacy seemed to be having some impact. A number of moderate Africans were dissociating themselves from Amin's extreme views. Colonel Joseph N. Garba, Foreign Minister of Nigeria—black Africa's most populous state—criticized Moynihan only for "overreacting a bit in the way he went about" attacking Amin. An editorial in the Nairobi *Daily Nation* roasted the African U.N. delegates for defending Amin, pointing out that "if anyone has been flippant and irresponsible, it is the Ugandan leader." If, as Garba predicts, the furor "blows over," then Moynihan may have been right to speak out so bluntly. He will have made his point that those developing countries that seek U.S. understanding of their desperate economic plight must, as he puts it, "calculate the costs and benefits" of indulging in outrageous attacks on the U.S. and its people.



STATUE OF LAOTIAN KING IN VIENTIANE

INDOCHINA

One-Upmanship

Scarcely a day goes by that Peking and Moscow do not trade insults from Marx's Dictionary of Dirty Names. Lately the focus of their dispute has shifted to Southeast Asia, where the two Communist superpowers are racing to see which can give more gifts and win more friends. Little Laos, indeed, seems about to sink under the weight of the gifts—and the rivers.

In Vientiane, the administrative capital, Russian is now heard almost as much as French, the language of the country's colonial rulers for 60 years. Soviet advisers are often seen riding side by side with Communist Pathet Lao officials, looking even bulkier than usual beside the slight Laotians.

8,000 Tons. The Soviets have agreed to rebuild Phonesavang on the Plain of Jars. Phonesavang, once considered a strategic village, was destroyed by U.S. Air Force bombing raids. Just as U.S. pilots and planes used to ferry non-Communist troops and officials to trouble spots around the country, Soviet pilots and planes now transport the Pathet Lao. The Russians currently have about 500 to 800 diplomats and technical experts in Laos, and reinforcements are arriving every month.

Not to be left behind, the Chinese who had already pushed a road from Yunnan province into northern Laos recently agreed to extend it 80 miles down to Luang Prabang. Both Moscow and Peking have worked out deals with Royal Dutch Shell to give the Laotians gasoline—8,000 tons from the Russians, 7,600 from the Chinese.

The Russians have so far spent more



MOYNIHAN SPEAKING IN SAN FRANCISCO Ignoring diplomatic niceties.

THE WORLD

money than the Chinese, but the game of one-upmanship, which the Chinese probably invented, may have already been won by Peking. In Luang Prabang, the capital of figurehead King Savang Vatthana, the Chinese have promised to build a new National Assembly building that will overshadow Moscow's projected gift, a giant statue of the King.

To make matters even worse for the Russians, a cost-conscious Moscow apparatchik decided that, though the Soviets would donate the statue—a duplicate already stands in a Vientiane park—the Laotians would have to transport it through the countryside to Luang Prabang. Miffed by such commissar chintziness, the Laotians have not bothered to move Luang Prabang's bronze statue out of storage in Vientiane.



CAMBODIA'S PRINCE SIHANOUK IN NEW YORK

Toward the 25th Hour

Another Southeast Asian country where China and the Soviet Union are vying for influence is Cambodia. Peking has a clear advantage here. For one thing, it offered shelter and a home in exile to Prince Norodom Sihanouk after he had been ousted by Premier Lon Nol's 1970 coup. For another, Moscow continued to recognize the Lon Nol regime until a few days before the Khmer Rouge conquest of Cambodia.

Last week Sihanouk—who remains, in his words, Cambodia's royal "but not royalist" titular head of state—arrived in New York to address the United Nations General Assembly. In his 45-minute speech, he ritually denounced "United States imperialism" but also praised those Americans who had opposed the U.S. involvement in Indochina. Later he

discussed the problems of postwar Cambodia with TIME Diplomatic Editor Jerrold L. Schecter.

Recalling the mass expulsions from the cities, Sihanouk defends them. "When we took Phnom-Penh, there were 3 million people and we had a terrible problem feeding them. The solution for us was to distribute the population of the capital to each of the provinces. The rice is growing well now and next year we will have enough for export."

National Symbol. As for his own future, "The Khmer Rouge invited me to establish myself, my wife and my children in the royal palace, our Buckingham Palace. Like Queen Elizabeth, I am the symbol of the nation. I am a head of state with a new style. The responsibility for government is in the

hands of the Khmer Rouge who deserve it because they fought and won and I do not want to compete with them."

Why is Cambodia closed to outsiders? "We have nobody to welcome foreigners in the appropriate way. We cannot provide foreign people with enough food or meat and we have the problem of electricity and running water in Phnom-Penh. There is enough for the royal palace and the small houses for the ministers but suppose we have 20 embassies? That would force us to buy new machines."

Sihanouk plans to go slowly. By year's end, he expects to have diplomatic relations with China, North Viet Nam, South Viet Nam and North Korea. Next, Algeria and Cuba. "After two years we shall be able to welcome the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries, our friends of the 22nd hour. They did not support us

during the war, they were with Lon Nol and you. Then we shall give facilities to France, a friend of the 23rd hour and then the United States will be our friend of the 25th hour. In just a few years we will be able to have everybody inside Cambodia."

Even though he rated the Soviet Union as more of a Cambodian friend than the U.S., Sihanouk rejected Russian and North Vietnamese proposals to set up a collective security system for Southeast Asia. "We want to be very neutral, very independent and non-aligned," he said. "We do not want to be associated with our neighbors in a regional or Indochinese federation. Each Asian country should alone assume the responsibility to safeguard its security. The security of Asia must be achieved by Asians, not by Europe. The Soviet Union for us is in Europe."

TERRORISM

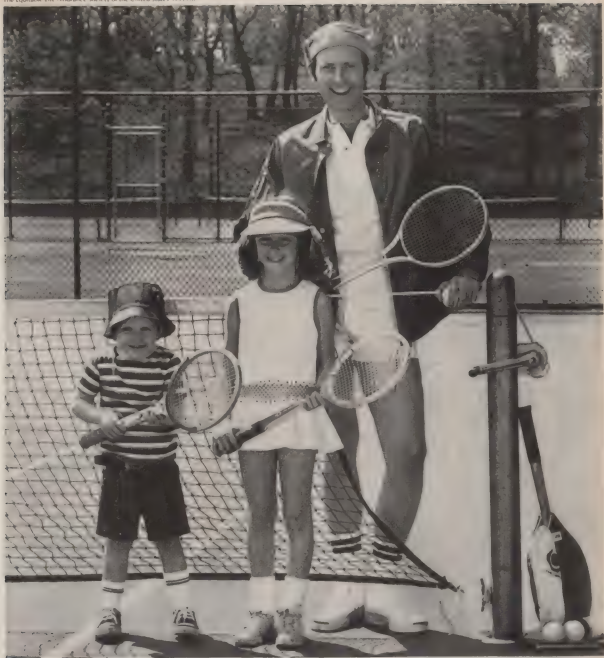
The Hostage Dilemma

In Ireland, Argentina and Chad, three unrelated cadres of terrorists called international attention to their alleged grievances by kidnapping innocent people and threatening to kill them unless certain concessions were made. The terrorists' actions posed once again the classic dilemma of whether or not to meet extortionists' demands. Governments that refuse to be blackmailed must answer to conscience and public opinion if hostages perish. On the other hand, yielding in the name of humanitarianism may only encourage more terrorism. In either case, the safety of the hostages cannot be assured, as the three incidents testify.

► In Ireland, an army helicopter hovered over ruined castles and abandoned farms in the desolate landscape north of Limerick, searching for signs of a kidnap hideout. The hostage was Tiede Herrema, 54, Dutch manager of a foreign-owned steel plant who had been abducted near Monaleen, four miles from Limerick, apparently by Irish Republican Army extremists. The kidnapers demanded the release of three notorious I.R.A. terrorists, including Bridget Rose Dugdale, 34, the militant heiress and Ph.D. in economics who is serving a nine-year sentence in Limerick prison for hijacking a helicopter and for stealing \$20 million worth of paintings from a private collector. One of the kidnapers was believed to be Eddie Gallagher, known I.R.A. Provo and putative father of Dugdale's ten-month-old son.

Announced Dublin's Minister of Justice Patrick Cooney: "Such demands have to be resisted. The best protection against such kidnapping is to let the people who carry them out ascertain that they are quite futile exercises." Nonetheless, a Dutch representative of Herrema's firm was ready to pay an undisclosed sum as ransom and fly the kidnapers out of Ireland. Even if the terrorists were to give up on the release of Dugdale and the other prisoners, the government would have to agree to give the kidnapers safe passage abroad. While these decisions were being argued, squads of policemen in Ireland, backed by army units, were combing the countryside and watching the border, ports and airports for Herrema and his abductors. Father Donal O'Mahoney, a priest who is reportedly in contact with the kidnapers, declared that Herrema is "by no means safe and the situation is still critical."

► In Argentina, a representative of the United Nations' High Commission for Refugees thoughtfully brought pizzas and Coke to ten men who were holding 14 of his colleagues at gunpoint in the commission's Buenos Aires office. The kidnapers were leftist refugees from Chile, who had fled that country after



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THE WORLD

the 1973 military coup against the Allende regime. Dissatisfied with the way they had been treated by the commission, they decided to take matters—and the staff—into their own hands. After seizing the U.N. employees, they issued a statement complaining about the mistreatment of refugees in Argentina. Their grievances were real, but then so was the plight of their hostages. After seven hours, the refugees released eight women and a man known to be epileptic; but they held five others, including Robert Müller, the Swiss director of the commission. "There is no problem," said Müller on the phone from his besieged office. "The matter is being dealt with in Geneva by the High Commissioner for Refugees." His optimism eventually proved correct. At week's end Algeria agreed to accept the refugees, after Sweden and Denmark had turned them down. After the U.N. staffers had been released unharmed, the happy refugees, accompanied by an assortment of wives and children, flew off for Algiers.

► In Chad, kidnaped French Archaeologist Françoise Claustre, 38, was in danger of being killed as negotiations for her ransom between the French government and Hissen Habré, a Maoist Moslem rebel, broke down. Claustre was abducted by Habré 17 months ago while she was studying pre-Islamic tombs in the Tibesti desert of northern Chad. Habré, 32, the head of a ragtag band of about 1,000 rebel tribesmen, asked the French government for \$2.4 million for Claustre's safe return. The French, anxious to remain on good terms with the legal government of their former West African colony, were reluctant to pay off the fanatic rebels. When French TV broadcast an appeal by Claustre, who sobbed that the gov-



DUTCH MANAGER HERREMA
By no means safe.

ernment was guilty of "inaction, cowardice and lies," she became an instant heroine in France. President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing announced that he would pay

Last month Habré received a down payment of \$880,000 in cash and 80 tons of military supplies—but no guns—for his minuscule army. The French, however, had not reckoned with Habré's avowed intention of becoming "the Mao of Africa." To realize his ambition he has now asked France for arms and ammunition in exchange for Claustre. The French cannot meet this demand without incurring the wrath of Chad President Felix Malloum. Already Malloum has moved to punish the French for negotiating with the rebels in the first place. As Claustre's life hung in the balance last week, the French began to evacuate their Chad military bases at Malloum's insistence.

ARCHAEOLOGIST CLAUSTRE COOKING A MEAL IN CAPTIVITY



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An artistic illustration in a sketchy, painterly style showing two cowboys on horseback. The cowboy in the foreground is wearing a light-colored shirt, a dark vest, and a cowboy hat, and is holding a lasso. The second cowboy is slightly behind him, also wearing a cowboy hat and a vest. They are riding horses through a field with a hazy, sunset-like background.

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Fog Times Fog

By the measure of most lives, the violent acts of Patty Hearst, Squeaky Fromme and Sara Jane Moore appear deranged. But were the three women legally insane? Are they sane now? Such questions are already central to the criminal proceedings against each of them, for, following long tradition, the invocation of a psychiatric defense is almost mandatory. "When you find a guy with a smoking gun standing over a dead body, you immediately call the psychiatrist," says Selwyn Rose, himself a psychiatrist and law professor at Loyola University of Los Angeles. That tradition is now undergoing considerable criticism. Most experts consider the particular area of law confused—not to say crazy. University of Chicago Law Professor Franklin Zimring observes: "If your psychiatric labels aren't clear and the legal standards that you use to feed them into decisions are foggy, fog times fog equals fog squared."

Mentally Able. The problem is simple enough. "Jurors just want to know whether the defendant could have helped himself," says Harvard Law Professor James Vorenberg. "But psychiatrists aren't very good at answering that." Dr. Karl Menninger agrees: "Insane" is an expression we psychiatrists don't use until we get to court. Insanity is a question of public opinion.

Still, when psychiatric judgment is required, experts try to supply what the court needs to know. Generally they form their opinions by simply talking with the defendant. "What you would see," explains Dr. James Richmond, who has examined Squeaky Fromme, "is a doctor having a conversation with a patient." If the concern is whether the defendant is mentally able to stand trial and defend himself, the psychiatrist concentrates on such matters as the defendant's comprehension of the charges, his ability to follow what his attorney says, and his reaction to authority figures (some defendants go blank when faced with a judge). It is harder—and takes longer—to form an opinion about a defendant's sanity at the time of the crime. For that, psychiatrists will focus on what the defendant remembers about the crime, what his emotions were at the time, how he felt before and afterward.

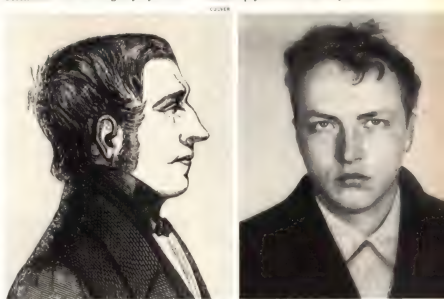
The trouble for most psychiatrists comes when they have to translate what they have learned into testimony that meets legal requirements. The M'Naghten rule, first announced in 1843 and still part of California's standard, asks whether the defendant knew "the nature and quality of his act" and was able to distinguish right from wrong. In 1954 the Durham rule, formulated by the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals, greatly broadened the psychiatric defense by

declaring that a person is not criminally responsible "if his unlawful act was the product of mental disease or mental defect." In a refinement of both rules, the Model Penal Code of 1962—now essentially the rule in 20 states and most federal courts—bases the test on a defendant's lack of "substantial capacity either to appreciate the criminality of his conduct or to conform his conduct to the requirements of the law."

Though these standards may seem liberal, jurors tend to be tough about applying them. Consequently, "the defense of insanity is relatively difficult to present effectively," states Boston Criminal Lawyer Gerald Alch. Moreover, most defendants found not guilty by reason

rest: "I'm no Squeaky Fromme." Despite that implied accusation, Squeaky herself has by now passed her own competency test and won the right to be her own attorney (with a public defender as co-counsel). She is apparently not planning to present an insanity defense. That may be an entirely rational decision, even though experts say that it is often hardest to get the truly insane to enter an insanity plea.

Whatever the outcome of the three cases, they are not likely to still the maelstrom that swirls around the problem of sorting the mad from the simply bad. David L. Bazelon, the judge who designed the Durham rule, now wonders whether psychiatric testimony can ever



DEFENDANTS M'NAGHTEN & DURHAM, WHOSE CASES SET LEGAL INSANITY STANDARDS
For victims of psychiatric justice, "every attempt at change has backfired."

of insanity are committed to hospitals for the criminally insane, where incarceration may be longer and under worse conditions than in a regular prison. Many such defendants end as what Psychiatrist Thomas Szasz calls "double victims" of "psychiatric justice"—stamped both crazy and criminal. Such realities explain why, contrary to popular impressions, an insanity defense is rarely chosen except in homicides, where the criminal punishment is often at least as harsh as the consequences of being found insane. Even then, only about 2% of such pleas are accepted by juries.

Despite the problems, lawyers for Patty Hearst have to consider an insanity defense, and four court-appointed experts have been examining the 21-year-old to determine if she can stand trial. Sara Jane Moore was also undergoing a competency examination last week, though she said at the time of her ar-

rest: "I'm no Squeaky Fromme." "no matter what our rules of evidence are," Harvard Law Professor Alan Dershowitz argues that while current definitions of legal insanity are inadequate, "every attempt at change has backfired." The upshot of the criticism has been increasing support for doing away with the insanity defense altogether. Instead, a trial would focus on whether the defendant did what he is accused of doing, and whether he intended to do it. If convicted, the defendant could then introduce psychiatric evidence at a hearing to determine whether the judge should impose a prison sentence or mental treatment. No such law has been passed in any state, but a federal version has been proposed. Unfortunately, it is part of a general overhaul of the federal criminal code, and complications with other parts of the proposal make it likely that the bill will die.



NIXON SIGNING AUTOGRAPHS AT LA COSTA COUNTRY CLUB WHILE FITZSIMMONS LOOKS ON

Former President **Richard M. Nixon** assiduously wooed the Teamsters Union during his Administration and even commuted the prison sentence of its popular president, **James Hoffa**. In the first public sortie from San Clemente, during which he openly invited—and enjoyed—the attention of the press, Nixon chose as companion none other than Hoffa's replacement, Teamsters President **Frank Fitzsimmons**. The missing Hoffa's name was never mentioned as Nixon, Fitzsimmons and other high union officials teed off in a benefit golf tournament at the La Costa country club in Carlsbad, Calif. The entourage that appeared for the former President's "coming out" was intriguing. Tournament participants included Anthony Provenzano, unofficial boss of New Jer-

sey's Teamsters; **Allen Dorfman**, convicted in 1972 for accepting a kickback from a union pension-fund borrower; **Jack Sheetz**, a businessman indicted but not prosecuted for misuse of union pension funds; and some other figures linked to organized crime. After finishing the day with a respectable 92 on the 72 par course, Nixon retired to a recreation room for a private chat with a select group of fellow players and autographed scraps of paper for guests' children.

Tart-tongued and tempestuous **Actress Glenda Jackson**, 39, has played fiery female roles ranging from Char-



JACKSON (LEFT) & BERNHARDT IN COFFINS

lotte Corday (*Marat-Sade*) to the D.H. Lawrence heroine **Gudrun Brangwen** (*Women in Love*). Little wonder that the Academy Award-winning actress has been cast as the spirited **Sarah Bernhardt** who often demanded that her theatrical fees be paid in gold. "I feel I know her," says Jackson, on the set of *Sarah*. "She refused to be stifled or live her life to other people's conventions." The Di-

vine *Sarah*, in fact, liked to take naps in a satin-lined coffin to remind herself of life's transience. Jackson has no qualms about repeating that scene. Says she, "I've been in coffins before, starting from when I played *Ophelia*."

It has been *A Hard Day's Night* for **John Lennon** in his four-year battle against deportation from the U.S. because of a drug conviction in Britain. Things took a turn for the better when Lennon got a temporary suspension of his case on humanitarian grounds. Wife **Yoko Ono's** pregnancy. Last week, on the eve of Lennon's 35th birthday, his ordeal finally ended: a court of appeal barred immigration officials from deporting the ex-Beatle. Said the jubilant Lennon: "It's a great birthday gift from America for me, Yoko and the baby." Two days later, Yoko, 42, gave birth to **Sean Ono Lennon**.

Great Britain's **Prince Charles** has received his first command. Nov. 27, he will take the helm of H.M.S. *Brionington*, a sturdy 360-ton minehunter that spends most of its time plowing the North Sea in search of World War II mines. Though the appointment is considered a bleak and boring one among old salts, England's future King is known to welcome any sea duty as a way to escape from royal protocol. On the *Brionington*, however, Charles may long to be a landlubber again. Explains **Kelly Green**, 23, a cook on the ship: "She's old and rocks a lot. In a gale I put a pot of stew on and tie it to the top of the stove. Nobody eats it anyway. Everybody gets seasick."

Senator **William Proxmire**, a staunch opponent of the confirmation of **Carla Hills**, 41, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, is no sexist. He also gave Carla's husband, **Roderick Hills**, 44, a grilling. During Senate hearings to consider the appointment of Hills as chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, Proxmire recalled that once while jogging to Capitol Hill he had encountered a former SEC chairman riding to work in a limousine. Would Hills require a limousine? "I shall not," he replied, but added, "nor shall I jog." Hills told the Senators he would share his wife's limousine or take the family car—which Proxmire approvingly noted would save the taxpayers \$20,000 a year. That was more than enough to convince the Senate. At week's end Hills received his confirmation.

The sweet young thing flies from the Paris home of her shoemaker father at age 15 after her uncle rapes her. Caught by the flies—who also rape her—she is placed in a Catholic home for wayward girls and eventually escapes to take up



PEOPLE



TATUM O'NEAL ON THE MOUND

residence in a Spanish bordello. French Porno Film Maker **Jean-François Davy's** latest flick, *Exhibition*, is the real-life story of its star, **Claudine Beccarie**, 30, who has already appeared in 44 other French *Films Bleus*. "I have no inhibitions," says Beccarie, a shapely brunette whose preferences include bisexuality and gourmet cooking in the nude (Neighbors stop by frequently to borrow sugar). *Exhibition*, a box office sensation in Paris, had its U.S. premiere last week at the New York Film Festival. The porno queen herself flew in for the screening with her current lover, Didier Faya, 20, in tow. "He was a plumber," explains Beccarie matter-of-factly. "He came to fix my pipes."

Actress **Tatum O'Neal** has switched from pitching Bibles with her father **Ryan O'Neal** in *Paper Moon* to pitching baseballs for Coach **Walter Matthau** in the forthcoming movie *The Bad News Bears*. Tatum, who these days fancies stepping out to parties in long gowns with superfluous décolletage, doesn't much care for her film costume: a Little League baseball suit. "It's suffocatingly hot," she complains. Furthermore, she isn't interested in baseball, and had to have coaching by Papa Ryan before she could get the ball across the plate. Even worse, when Los Angeles Dodger **Steve**

Garvey visited the set, Tatum didn't recognize him. "Are you a baseball player or what?" she asked. "He sure must play something," she said to a fellow teammate. "Look at those shoulders."

Basketball Star **Connie Hawkins**, 33, has suffered defeats before, but never one as decisive as his recent 20-0 loss in a one-on-one game with 5-ft. 4-in. Singer **Paul Simon**. Actually, it was the script rather than Simon's erratic defense that kept the 6-ft. 8-in. Atlanta Hawks player from scoring. The match was staged for NBC's *Saturday Night* show, scheduled to be aired this week. Host Simon wanted Hawkins on the show—along with former Partner **Art Garfunkel** and Singer **Phoebe Snow**—because "he's got a great sense of humor." After playing ball with Simon for two hours to tape a seven-minute segment for the show, Hawkins had some advice for his pint-size opponent: "Stick to singing and songwriting."

Sex appeal has never been the forte of Actor **Donald Sutherland**, 40, and his new look—shaved-off eyebrows and a partly shaved scalp—does nothing to enhance his allure. Yet those are some of the changes that Makeup Artist **Gianetto De Rossi**, 33, has wrought to transform Sutherland into the lady-killing hero of **Federico Fellini's** film *Casanova*. In a three-hour session each morning on the set in Rome, Rossi also gives Sutherland a false chin and nose, then winds his remaining shoulder-length

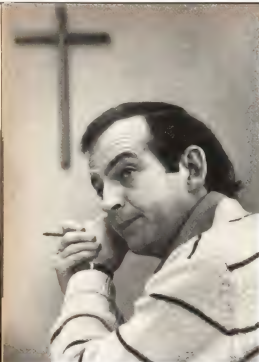


CASANOVA (TOP) & SUTHERLAND IN MAKEUP

hair into curls that stick out over his ears, making it difficult for him to use the telephone. "My God, is that what Casanova looked like?" asked one dismayed female about the results. Sutherland is unperturbed. "Fellini thinks that my Casanova is attractive," he says "and I think he is attractive."

HAWKINS & SIMON ON THE COURT





AUTHOR RICHARD JOHN NEUHAUS

Again, God's Country

"When I meet God, I expect to meet him as an American." Though that may sound like a boast by Babbitt, it comes from the Rev. Richard John Neuhaus, an outspoken critic of the Viet Nam War and America's indifference to the poor. But Neuhaus, 39, a white pastor of a largely black Lutheran church in Brooklyn, has always kept everyone off balance. When he led his parish in an antiwar protest service in 1967, he insisted that the youths who were turning in their draft cards join in a lusty chorus of *America the Beautiful*.

To Neuhaus, it is only natural to think of meeting God as an American, since nationality is part of one's identity. In his new book, *Time Toward Home: The American Experiment as Revelation* (Seabury, \$9.50), he goes well beyond that. He thinks Americans must accept moral responsibility for their citizenship, and if they do, "America may yet prove to be, as the founders hoped, a blessing and not a curse to the nations of the earth." Neuhaus believes "God has a hand in the American experiment." Such thinking in the past has led to cocksure identification of God's will with whatever the U.S. happened to be doing. But Neuhaus explains that God's "covenant" with America is only a part of his involvement with all of history. The idea of an American covenant dates from the New England Puritans, who combined the biblical teaching of God's covenant with Israel with an assertion of America's special role in preparing for the millennium.

Belief in God's covenant with America, Neuhaus thinks, leads not to arro-

gance but to humility, since the nation is continually held accountable to judgment by the Almighty. The covenant idea can also restore the faith in the future that once characterized the U.S. Neuhaus contends that if Americans lose the belief that God is working toward a culmination, history is seen as purposeless. He worries that America's intellectual leaders are so "emancipated" from religion that spiritual questions are cloaked in secular terms like "national purpose." Thus discussion of public policy is "floundering in moral evasiveness and mendacity." Neuhaus scorns the "vulgar anti-Americanism" of many intellectuals and says that because they are divorced from the American experience, they feel no need to repent personally of the nation's sins.

Besides the secular intellectuals, Neuhaus has little regard for those religious intellectuals who are still "obsequiously accommodating to cultural moods" rather than asserting "religious truth claims." A dramatic protest against such cultural entrapment of theology was fashioned by a group that Neuhaus and his friend, Sociologist Peter Berger, assembled in Hartford, Conn., last winter (TIME, Feb. 10). Neuhaus and his Hartford colleagues last month concluded a second meeting, at which a book of essays was planned to follow up their "Hartford Appeal." As he has done in his current book, Neuhaus will call for a "reconstruction" of American theology, which he considers essential to the moral cohesion without which a nation eventually collapses.

Shut Down. Born and raised in Canada, Neuhaus attended—and was expelled from—a Lutheran high school in Nebraska. In Cisco, Texas, where he ran a gas station and grocery store at the age of 16, he became the youngest member of the Chamber of Commerce. Though he never went back to high school, he managed to graduate from a church college and Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, and became pastor of Brooklyn's Church of St. John the Evangelist. When he arrived in 1961, the church had two dozen active parishioners and was ready to shut down. Today it has 600 members and a staff of 16.

Neuhaus works 16 hours a day in his parish and on his numerous outside commitments. Among other things, he is an editor of *Worldview*, a current affairs monthly, and writes a Lutheran monthly, *Forum Letter*, which has been analyzing why liberals are preparing to leave the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. Neuhaus is unmarried. Unlike Catholics, he explains, certain Protestant ministers are called "not to celibacy as such, but to work that implies celibacy. This in no way denigrates marriage, but simply recognizes that there is a diversity of vocations."

Israel's Blacklist

When Israelis want to get married, they are well advised to check with the rabbinical registrar before hiring a caterer or ordering silver. For civil marriage does not exist in Israel, and all Jews—religious and nonreligious alike—must get approval for weddings from the strict Orthodox rabbinate. In many cases the result has been the dismaying discovery that they are considered *psul lahitun*—"unmarriageable." Under *halakhah*, the traditional religious law:

► A Jew can marry neither a non-Jew nor a convert who does not meet *halakhic* standards (thus, according to the Orthodox, excluding those proselytized by Reform and Conservative Judaism, neither of which they recognize).

► A woman cannot marry a man if he was her lover while she was married to her former husband.

► A *mamzer* (generally, a person born as a result of incest or a liaison between a married woman and someone other than her husband) can marry only another *mamzer* or a convert.

In enforcing these and other rules, the government's Orthodox-controlled Ministry of Religious Affairs long ago set up an FBI-like system of files and informers to help figure out who can marry and who cannot. Despite persistent rumors, the ministry has continually denied that it keeps a blacklist. Then someone leaked to reporters the lists of unmarriageables that the ministry had distributed to rabbinical councils and marriage registrars across Israel. The lists include more than 10,000 names. Said *Ha'aretz*, Israel's leading daily: "It's a scandal which no democratic society can stomach."

The scandal is not only the lists but also the gossip notes that appear next to the names. Examples: "The mother of the bride says the groom is not Jewish." "The Marcus family are German Christians." Since the list does not specify which of Israel's hundreds of Marcus families is banned, many anxious young Marcuses have been trying to find out whether they are unmarriageable.

Traditionalists have rallied to the defense of the lists. Ze'evulun Hammer, a Knesset member who belongs to the staunchly Orthodox National Religious Party, argues that they are essential "if the rabbinical registrars are to do their work according to *halakhic* law." That will not satisfy the growing number of Israelis who want laws permitting civil marriage. Until now change has been impossible because, although only one-fifth of the populace consider themselves to be religious, the N.R.P. provides essential votes for the coalition government. But the blacklist scandal could shift the political realities during the Knesset session that opens next week.

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Rock Bottom

LISZTOMANIA

Directed and Written by KEN RUSSELL

The analogy may be arguable, but the argument is stimulating. It may well be that Franz Liszt was the first performer to court—and then find himself victimized by—celebrity akin to that accorded a rock star. Adolescents swooning at his concerts; the rich, famous and equally gifted vying eagerly for his attention; sexual swag collected at every stop on his endless concert tours—it all fits with what we know about contemporary life at the top of the charts.

Therefore, the idea of an anachronistic demi-rock opera starring demipop Star Roger Daltrey as Liszt has a certain cheeky appeal. The possibilities for gaining some fresh perspectives on popular culture, past and present, seem worth the risk of affronting our conventional biographical expectations. For a few minutes early in the film, when Director Russell presents a Liszt recital as if it were indeed a rock event, the experiment justifies itself. Poor old Franz becomes a hugely comic figure as he tries to satisfy the demands of his groupies (they want him to play his hit, *Chopsticks*), his conscience (by introducing some new music by a radical named Wagner) and his id (casing the audience for a suitable post-concert bed partner). If there is such a thing as bravura irony, this sequence is a prime example.

Analogy, however, is not drama. Whatever point *Lisztomania* has to make is nailed down in one scene

Thereafter, the audience sees the composer as lunatic victim: in one scene he climbs into a huge piano with a wrathful countess; in another he flies over Germany on a bombing mission. His crew a bevy of ex-mistresses. Liszt ends as he begins. Candidly with piano, an innocent exploited by everyone he encounters, especially Wagner (who became his son-in-law). Lest the audience wonder about the personality of Wagner, the film transforms him into Dracula, literally sucking the blood of his first patron, then into Dr. Frankenstein, sole creator of a monster named Hitler.

Does Russell actually believe such nonsense? Probably not, but it is a good excuse for hurling self-consciously shocking images upon the screen. These, in turn, are obviously designed to distract us from the fact that the film is intellectually bankrupt, unconcerned with historical characters or events. Russell's gift for imagery is undeniable: his outrages grab our attention even as common sense whispers that they are false, strained, childish in the worst sense. But the sensations have only a

short-term effect: the mind cannot be conned. One leaves the theater feeling manipulated, ill-used, ripped off.

Counting his early best work for television, this is Russell's tenth essay in musical biography. In the past he has been stringently criticized for the careless manner in which he mixed the facts of these lives with his personal responses. Even that tense mixture seems preferable to the unmixed subjectivity of this Lisztless exercise. *Lisztomania* is not only a parody of biographical convention, but a self-parody as well—a non-stop effort to blind audiences to a once interesting sensibility now decayed into vulgarity.

Richard Schickel

Roger Daltrey, everyone agrees, swings a mean microphone.

He spins it above his head, letting it fly farther and farther, in ever widening circles, like a lariat. The stunt was Daltrey's trademark as lead vocalist of The Who; it is still a profitable skill on-stage and in films. *Tommy*, The Who's rock opera, was a gimcrack parlayed into a remunerative cultural artifact. So far, the various *Tommy* albums and movie receipts have accounted for some \$50 million, in which Daltrey retains a generous participation.

Daltrey also has two solo record albums to his credit—the second was 18 on the charts—an impending concert tour with The Who and the starring role in *Lisztomania*.

Such solo flights have threatened the security of Roger's group The Who members have never been mates off-stage—"We don't really get on," Daltrey admits. "We just make music together." But recently Pete Townshend, the group's leader and author of most of its music, has intimated that Daltrey has been slighting his collaborators. Despite this, Daltrey, 31, claims: "There is no real problem. Keith Moon, our drummer, is a bit jealous, but that's because he always wanted to be a movie star." The Who blitzkrieg of North America

DIRECTOR RUSSELL CONCOCTING A SHOT



ROGER DALTREY SWASHBUCKLING AS LISZT



NEW PERSPECTIVES ON CULTURE: A TYPICAL FANTASIA FROM LISZTOMANIA



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CINEMA

will open on schedule, Nov. 20 in Houston, and presumably intramural tensions can be vented onstage. After all, the group first became famous for smashing guitars, trashing amplifiers and wreaking havoc for the edification of its audience. In any case, Daltrey says, "we go our separate ways but always come back when the time is right."

Iron Maiden. Daltrey's way has twice coincided with the tortuous path of Russell, whose wide-screen fantasies appear excessive even against the standards of the rock world. In *Tommy*, Daltrey was imprisoned in an Iron Maiden constructed out of hypodermic needles. *Lisztomania* begins with Roger frenetically kissing the breasts of the Countess Marie in time to an amuck metronome, a scene that the star remembers vividly. "It was the first day on the set, and no one knew anybody else. Ken yelled, 'O.K., Roger, take off your clothes, get in bed and have an orgasm!'"

"Roger is a brilliant performer," Russell states unequivocally. "He has a curious quality of innocence that makes him perfect for Liszt." Russell's fantasy puts that innocence through some peculiar trials. In the new film, Liszt disappears in the vagina of a paramour ("It's just part of the job," Daltrey maintains); later he sprouts a 10-ft. penis. "A one-foot penis is dirty, but ten feet is funny," says Roger loyally. "There's nothing really all that bad in this movie. I'll let my Mum and kids see it."

The kids are three in number (one by a first wife). Daltrey and his present wife Heather, a former model, preside over a 280-acre farm and a 30-room Jacobean house restored by Roger himself. Mum and Dad, who live in the same late-Victorian house in Acton where Roger was raised, visit frequently. They are proud of their only son, even though success has brought disadvantages. The house has been burgled three times. "They think we have money because of Roger," says Mrs. Daltrey—and some of the outrages Russell has required their son to commit on-screen are a little difficult to cope with. But the elder Daltreys are learning. Roger took a snapshot of his grandmother, 88, cuddling up to the oversized phallus from *Lisztomania*, now stashed in Daltrey's barn as a souvenir. When Roger reported on the movie's opening scene, Mr. Daltrey managed to suppress his outrage. Said Mum: "It makes his father jealous."

Rogues' Gallery

ROYAL FLASH

Directed by RICHARD LESTER

Screenplay by GEORGE MACDONALD FRASER

Courage is the invention of lunatic romantics, and dishonor is easily tolerable if the only alternative is death. These guiding principles are advanced with brisk savvy in *Royal Flash*, which has to do with the exploits of Captain Harry Flashman, a rogue, prig, tosspot

TV service technicians name Zenith for the two things you want most in color TV.

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In a recent nationwide survey of independent TV service technicians, Zenith was named, more than any other brand, as the color TV with the best picture.

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Answers:

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Brand F.....	2%
Brand G.....	2%
Brand H.....	2%
Brand I.....	1%
Other Brands.....	3%
About Equal.....	11%
Don't Know.....	6%

Note: Answers total over 100% due to multiple responses.

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Brand A.....	13%
Brand C.....	8%
Brand D.....	4%
Brand B.....	3%
Brand I.....	2%
Brand F.....	2%
Brand E.....	2%
Brand G.....	1%
Brand H.....	1%
Other Brands.....	4%
About Equal.....	14%
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CINEMA

and coward, and proud of every bit of it.

Flashman (brightly played by Malcolm McDowell) is all set to surrender the British flag during an engagement with the enemy. But at the crucial moment, a piece of masonry falls on his head. Discovered unconscious by a relief regiment, clutching the banner he would so willingly have given over, Flashman is decorated as a hero. The medal gains him entry to the best gaming houses and bordellos in Victorian London. It also acts as a talisman to draw Flashman into a series of amusingly unlikely exploits in which he is repeatedly required to put his tarnished mettle to the test.

Much in the style of his previous *Three Musketeers* films, Director Richard Lester parodies the excesses of the costume romance even while turning them to his own advantage. Or trying



BOLKAN & McDOWELL IN FLASH
Testing tarnished mettle.

to. Like the *Musketeers* excursion, *Royal Flash* could have been a keen double edge. As it stands, this movie hardly cuts at all. The plot is scrambled and awkward, made to measure for jokes that do not really come off. (It was extracted from Scenarist Fraser's satiric novel, which Lester had wanted to film for some time—perhaps too long a time.) Flashman becomes embroiled in an improbable Ruritanian intrigue involving Lola Monter (Florinda Bolkan), Count Otto von Bismarck (Oliver Reed) and a mysterious double agent called Von Starnberg (Alan Bates). The satire is never quite clever or cunning enough. Lester looks for most of his humor in Flashman's cravenness and clumsiness, sources that are rather too quickly exhausted. It is as if Lester were working on assignment, not out of inspiration. The cast is full of charm and talent, eager to put it all to use, but everyone is defeated by a prevailing indifference. **J.C.**

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These mileage figures are estimates.
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room than a Datsun B-210 and
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it extremely nimble.

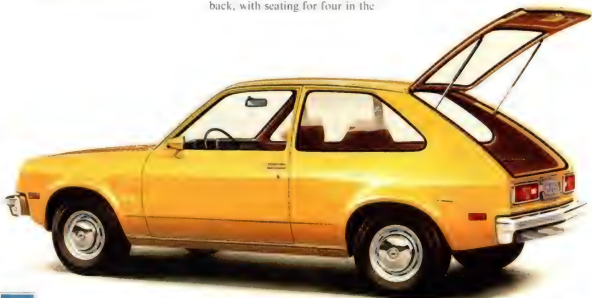
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In California, see your Chevrolet dealer for EPA mileage figures and engine/transmission combinations available on California emissions-equipped cars.

The Disease of The Century

Like Thornton Wilder's Mr. Arctophila, man has survived ice ages, more subtle climatic changes and, thus far at least, his own inventions. Now his adaptability is facing a new challenge. Industrialization and expanding technology are radically altering the environment and exposing man to growing amounts of harmful pollutants, some of them chemicals that did not exist a century, a decade or even a year or two ago. Result: an increase in many old ailments and the emergence of new ones—all traceable to substances in air, water and food. Says Dr. Irving Selikoff of New York's Mount Sinai School of Medicine: "Environmental disease is becoming the disease of the century."

In other centuries, doctors have known that miners, stone cutters and lens grinders (including the philosopher Spinoza) often developed respiratory disease from inhaling large quantities of dust; hatters suffered brain damage and went mad from absorbing toxic vapors from the mercury used in making felt. A London surgeon named Percivall Pott reported in 1775 that the soot-covered sweepers who cleaned Britain's chimneys had a far higher rate of cancer of the scrotum than the rest of the population.

But in the past 50 years, environmental diseases have spread beyond those in a few specialized trades. Among the most serious

CANCER. The U.S. has one of the world's highest incidences of cancers associated with environmental pollution. A recent National Cancer Institute study (TIME, Aug. 11) shows that the industrialized and highly air-polluted Northeast has a particularly high incidence of lung cancer, as do areas where copper and lead smelters are located. The highest rates of bladder and liver cancers are found in counties with plants producing rubber and chemicals, perfumes and cosmetics, soaps and printing ink. One Ohio community, most of whose workers are employed by chemical plants, had a high rate for all three cancers.

Though cigarette smoking is responsible for at least 80% of all lung cancers, asbestos fibers are also taking an increasing toll. It has long been known that workers exposed to high levels of airborne asbestos fibers developed more lung malignancies than people in other occupations. But doctors have recently suggested that others are also vulnerable: painters or homeowners sanding asbestos-based compounds used for covering rough areas on walls or ceilings; mechanics who work on asbestos-insulated brake linings.

In Russia, researchers have found that workers exposed to chloroprene (the base for several synthetic rubber products) have higher rates of skin and lung cancer than the rest of the population. Vinyl chloride, a colorless gas that is the basic ingredient of the widely used plastic polyvinyl chloride (PVC), has been identified as a cause of angiosarcoma of the liver. Until recently, this cancer was so rare that one Los An-

geles hospital found only one case in 52,000 autopsies. Since last year, however, doctors have confirmed 19 cases of the cancer in the U.S. alone. 17 of them in people who worked in plastics plants. There is growing sentiment to ban the use of PVC for containers and plastic wraps for food and drinks; some doctors fear that the compound leaches into the food and could cause cancer.

Even drinking water is suspect. Researchers studying the New Orleans and Cincinnati water supplies found that chlorine, added to water to kill harmful bacteria, can combine with certain pollutants to form compounds that may cause cancer; cancer rates in the New Orleans area, which draws its water from the lowermost—and thus most polluted—part of the Mississippi, are among the highest in the nation. More carcinogens may soon be added to the environment. Studies have shown that the extraction of oil from shale and gas from coal—processes that could eventually be used on a large scale—produces polycyclic hydrocarbons, compounds that can cause cancer in man. Says the National Cancer Institute's Dr. Umberto Saffioti: "Cancer in the last quarter of the 20th century can be considered a social disease, a disease whose causation and control are rooted in the technology and economy of our society."

BIRTH DEFECTS. The Ohio department of health has found that women in three communities with PVC plants—Painesville, Ashtabula and Avon Lake—bore more children with birth defects and other malformations than women in

COPPER SMELTER IN EL PASO



JAPANESE MOTHER CRADLING DAUGHTER CRIPPLED BY MERCURY POISONING





LOS ANGELES SHROUDED IN SMOG
A challenge to man's adaptability.

other communities in the state; laboratory research has shown that vinyl chloride can cause chromosomal damage in humans. Anesthetic gases also appear to be teratogenic, or capable of causing birth defects. Russian, Danish and U.S. studies all show a high miscarriage rate among women anesthesiologists and operating-room nurses.

HEAVY-METAL POISONING. Once considered largely a problem of the urban slums, where children eat paint flaking off the walls of old buildings, lead poisoning is turning up more frequently in other areas. High levels of lead in the bloodstream have been found in children living near lead smelters in rural

MEDICINE

Kellogg, Idaho, and El Paso. (Children are metabolically more susceptible to lead poisoning than adults.) Elevated lead levels can also be found in people who live near freeways, where auto exhausts pollute the air. High arsenic levels have been detected in children living near a copper smelter in Ruston, Wash. High levels of lead and other heavy metals, such as arsenic and mercury, are potentially lethal. Mercury poisoning, caused by industrial dumping of toxic compounds into a harbor, killed an estimated 300 people in the area around Minamata, Japan, and crippled almost 1,000 more.

RESPIRATORY DISORDERS.

Britain had a frightening vision of the future back in 1952, when a combination of pollution and weather produced a killer fog that caused 4,000 deaths, in many cases by aggravating existing respiratory ailments. Communities in the eastern part of the Los Angeles basin have had frequent "smog alerts" during summer months; when an alert is issued, residents with heart or lung problems are warned to avoid unnecessary activity and mothers are told to keep small children indoors. Chicago officials issued warnings 15 times last summer when levels of ozone (a highly active form of oxygen produced, among other ways, by auto engines) rose to the point where they could cause eye and throat irritations. But the prime suspects in the high incidence of respiratory ailments in urban and industrial areas are sulfur dioxide and other pollutants given off by automobile tailpipes or industrial smokestacks. The Environmental Pro-

tection Agency's National Environmental Research Center has found that acute bronchitis occurs 20% more frequently among children in communities with high pollution levels than it does among those who breathe cleaner air.

Strict Standards. Action to eliminate or at least reduce environmental pollution has generally been spotty. Enforcement of the federal Clean Air Act, which regulates excessive air pollution, has resulted in some improvement. Installation of pollution-control devices on cars has begun to show some effect in reducing the contaminants in urban air. But despite the tough 1972 amendments to the federal Water Pollution Control Act, a recent study of water supplies in 80 cities showed that most contained contaminants.

The plastics industry has drastically lowered vinyl chloride levels in plants but has challenged federal requirements that they be brought down to one part per million or less, arguing that the costs of full compliance would force many firms out of business and put thousands of employees out of work. Other companies share their concern, pointing out that the costs of combatting pollution will make their products uncompetitively expensive. Part of the hefty jump in auto prices—and the resulting sales slump—stems from the required installation of antipollution devices.

Doctors and environmentalists nonetheless insist that new antipollution laws are essential. "What is an acceptable risk for cancer?" asks Dr. Selikoff. "One out of a hundred? More? Less? With cancer, any risk is too high." To reduce these hazards even further, Selikoff and his colleagues are urging enactment of even stricter new regulations on the manufacture and use of substances known to be toxic (see box) and better screening to keep those suspected of causing cancer or other illnesses out of the environment.

Rx for Environmental Ills

What can be done to prevent new toxic substances from entering the environment? Answer: screen out dangerous chemical compounds before they are used in products or manufacturing processes. Easier said than done. Some 2 million chemical compounds are known, and an estimated 25,000 new ones are developed every year. Of the total, about 10,000 have significant commercial uses, and most of them are not dangerous. Even so, to test those that might cause birth defects, cancer or other diseases would be time consuming and costly.

Most of the current testing of new compounds is done by manufacturers. If their record is spotty, it is at least partially due to the difficulty of setting up

foolproof test procedures. The tests depend largely on interpreting how results in laboratory animals will apply to man, and they usually fail to take into account synergistic effects (a seemingly benign substance, combined with other compounds in the environment, sometimes becomes hazardous). The chemical industry is moving to correct the situation. Eleven of the biggest companies have pledged \$12 million to start a Chemical Institute of Toxicology to work out better test procedures.

Congress seems ready to go even further. Of four proposed toxic-substances bills now being considered, one is strongly backed by a combination of environmentalists and labor leaders. It would force manufacturers to prove that all their products are safe before they are

put on the market, and make the Environmental Protection Agency responsible for screening that proof for "unreasonable risk" to human health and the environment. The chemical industry, claiming that such a measure would duplicate existing laws, favors a weaker bill requiring manufacturers to notify the EPA only about products containing compounds that the agency has listed as dangerous; the EPA then would test the products for safety. What will probably pass Congress is a compromise measure: only potentially hazardous chemicals would have to be tested by industry, with the EPA having final review power. Manufacturers who ignored the agency's decision to keep a product off the market would be subject to criminal prosecution and fines of as much as \$25,000 a day.

An Interview Is a Love Story

She has flown on a bombing run in Viet Nam and been wounded by gunfire in Mexico. She boldly interrogated Lieut General Nguyen Van Thieu about the corruption of his regime, and she lured Secretary of State Henry Kissinger into describing himself as a lone gunslinger on a horse. She is Oriana Fallaci, 45, world-roving and world-renowned practitioner of the clawing interview. A small and frenetic figure in slacks and a faded maroon corduroy jacket, she swept into her Rome office from an Athens flight one recent morning, dumped her suitcases on the floor, answered a number of telephone calls (sometimes two at once), ordered a glass of Fernet Branca. Then she turned to TIM's Jordan Bonfante and submitted herself to what many prominent political leaders already know to their sorrow and awe as a Fallaci-style interview.

Q Who elected you the great and omniscient critic—what rights and qualifications do you have to criticize so many political leaders?

A The right of being a historian. A journalist writes history in the best of ways, that is in the moment that history takes place. He lives history, he touches history with his hands, he looks at it with his eyes, he listens to it with his ears. Listen, Herodotus in his day was a damned f---ing journalist.

Q It's been charged that you fabricate quotations. You've been called Oriana Fallacious.

A Fallacious, that's just a vulgarity. It's ridiculous. If I have the tape with the voice, how can they claim they never said what they did?

Q In your interviews, you are sometimes downright insulting. Why do they sit still for you?

A I'm never insulting, no, but I can be brutal. When I have a brutal question to put, I always say, "Now I'm going to put you a brutal question." I don't write that because it would be monotonous to read that each time. The questions are brutal because research of truth is a kind of surgery. Surgery hurts.

Q They say that you work with your elbows. That you are aggressive and bel-

ligerent, that you throw tearful scenes, scream and cry.

A Tearful? Me, tearful? You mean those big white things that come out of your eyes? Not me.

Q You kick and scream, though, don't you?

A Oh, yes, a lot. I scream and yell. But no tears.

Q What was your most unsuccessful interview?

A The first one was with Bobby Kennedy, because you cannot interview a person who never watches you in your eyes. For more than one hour he watches his shoes. Each time I put a question to him he blushed. But there is an interview that is worse than that, and that is the one with Kissinger.

Q You're not eating any words here, are you?

A No, I swear on my mother, I always said it. I have never understood why the Americans have fallen in love with that interview. I haven't given any importance to the *boutade* [whim] he said about the cowboy. I thought it was cute, it was arrogant, it portrayed him. But the interview was bad because Kissinger is a very cold man, and he behaved coldly. I was disturbed by his way of receiving me.

He arrived and he said very nicely before he entered his room, "Good morning, Miss Fallaci." And then he entered his room and he started reading this paper, giving me his shoulders. I disliked that. I was discouraged. Oh, God, no, I said Oh, la la la.

Q Are you apologizing for that interview?

A Why should I apologize? I put the right questions. He answered badly. Listen, the interview with [North Vietnamese General Vo Nguyen] Giap was the worst of all. Pure shit. It's bad. He talked all the time and he wanted to show me how bad the Americans were and how good he was.



ITALIAN JOURNALIST ORIANA FALLACI
Truth is a kind of surgery.

Q Who has refused to talk to you?

A Tito. Chou En-lai, not because he did not want to see me but because the Chinese never gave me a visa. I never saw Brezhnev or any of the Russians. The reason is that for 14 years I asked the visa for the Soviet Union and it was always denied. Finally when Aldo Moro, who was Foreign Minister at that time, went to Russia in 1971, I made a scene at the Soviet consulate. I rang the bell for two hours. When my finger became red from pushing, I put the other finger. When the second finger was red, the third finger. I went on with the ten fingers, till the Soviet consul became ab-

INTERVIEWING THE SHAH OF IRAN



QUESTIONING INDIAN PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI



WITH THE LATE ETHIOPIAN EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE IN HIS OFFICE

Crispina found a friend

One who is helping her survive



Crispina Aguilar's case is typical.

Her father works long hours as a share-cropper despite a chronic pulmonary condition that saps his strength. Her mother takes in washing whenever she can. Until recently, the total income of this family of six was about \$13.00 a month. Small wonder that they were forced to subsist on a diet of unpolished rice, swamp cabbage, and tiny fish the children seize from a nearby river.

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solutely hysterical. As soon as he opened the door I entered. I said, "I don't mind until you give me the visa!" "Get out!" "I won't get out!" Finally, in total despair he said, "Oh, give me your passport, here is your visa."

Q Others?

A Now Franco—I have always refused to see him. When I was invited to interview Franco, I said, "I'm not going to shake hands with Franco."

The one I've tried very hard to see is Ford. And they are stupid not to agree to it. They are cutting their balls. They are wrong, honestly. I have no bad intentions. But Kissinger is behind it.

Q Your toughest subject?

A Haile Selassie [in 1972]. He is senile, arrogant and unintelligent and despised women.

Q How did he show that?

A Even if I go to see the most important man in the world, I go with slacks. There I was instructed that I could not go to see His Majesty the Emperor with slacks. At first I said, "Will you tell His Majesty that either I go naked or I go with slacks?" But they gave me a dress. A woman had to be dressed as a woman. He didn't even want my covered arms. The dress had to be long sleeves. Like a nun.

Q What particular techniques have you developed for an interview?

A Each is a portrait of myself. I am a strange mixture of my ideas, temperament, my patience, all of it driving the questions. I am what is called a leftist. I don't know the meaning, these stupid words nowadays—left, right, all shit—but for sure I care very much about freedom.

Let's take [Portuguese Communist Leader] Alvaro Cunhal. I go to this man who is a Stalinist, and who is doing the stupidities. From the first moment I tell him, "Aren't you ashamed of what you are saying? For Christ's sake, do you blush?" Can you imagine a journalist of the New York Times yelling at Cunhal? Never, not even if they cut his head off. I do it. When I make an interview, it's a parliamentary debate.

Q What value do you give to objectivity?

A None. What is objectivity? It is the word objectivity. I always use words honest and correct.

Q Why do you provoke your subjects to such anger and emotion? I'm called you a rude little bitch.

A Yes, and I called him a dirty I provoked them because I get involved because my interviews are never cut because I fall in love with the person who is in front of me, even if I hate him or her. An interview is a love story. It's a fight. It's a coitus.

Q Do you ever use sex, feminine attraction, as a weapon?

A No. I have never done that in my life. When I go to these people, am terribly serious. I'm dressed in most anti-sexy way, often badly combed no lipstick. You see, this is not on

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The Christian Brothers Brandy:

An explanation.

OUR CELLARMASTER, BROTHER TIMOTHY, TALKS ABOUT THE SPIRIT WE MAKE FROM WINE: HOW IT WAS DISCOVERED; AND HOW WE GAINED A REPUTATION FOR A UNIQUE AMERICAN TASTE.

LATE IN THE SUMMER, the grapes near our Mount Tivy winery and distillery begin to take on full sweetness from the sun. These vineyards in the great Central Valley of California produce the choice varieties we use in The Christian Brothers Brandy. Each drop of it—from start to finish—is made here under our care.



The Flavor of The Christian Brothers Brandy begins with the selection of rich, sun-ripened grapes

The busiest time of our year is during the fall harvest. Grapes are selected; a wine is prepared; our stills work round the clock. Afterwards come many steps: the aging in small oak casks; blending; then a selection for bottling.

Brandy is made in many lands. Ours has a unique American flavor. One we created. You may enjoy it more if you know a little of the history of brandy, and how we make ours.

BRANDYWINE: SPIRIT OF GRAPES

Brandy is a distilled spirit made from wine. It is also the most ancient of spirits. Distilling, very simply, is a way of collecting alcohol vapors and returning them to liquid; usually in a rich concentration. In the Dark Ages, it was considered a forbidden art of alchemy and was practiced secretly.

Brandy, then called "aque vitae" was mentioned in Italian writings in the 11th century. The French began to distill it in the 14th century or earlier. Thrifty winegrowers distilled their wines to save space, freight charges (and perhaps taxes) when shipping abroad. After a time in oak barrels, the concentrated wine took on a distinctive and pleasing character of its own. A new beverage was born. The Dutch called it "brandewijn" (burnt wine). The English first adopted it as brandywine and then later shortened the name to brandy.

WE CREATE A NEW FLAVOR AT MOUNT TIVY

The Christian Brothers have been making wines in California since 1882. When we first began to produce brandy, we wanted to make a lighter, smoother spirit than was available. The traditional method of distilling wine in the old world was the pot-still. It makes a rich and aromatic brandy; slow and costly to produce, and oftentimes a bit heavy. The other alternative was a "whisky-type" still. Neither of these methods were satisfactory—so we designed two stills of our own. One gives us a selection of lighter brandies. There is no other still like it in this country.

The other, a patient old pot-still provides brandies with depth and aroma. We blend brandies from both of these stills to a taste quite unique—and all our own.



The Pot-Still. From an 18th century French engraving

It is light. Smooth. Mellow. And rich. A flavor you will find in every sip of The Christian Brothers Brandy. We planned it that way many years ago. And we keep on planning for it.

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The Cooper. From an 18th century French engraving

THE BLEND BEGINS IN THE "LIBRARY"

The final step in making our brandy requires a skilled, experienced palate, and memory plus a wide choice of aging brandies—for each lot comes to life in its own time. We must plan years ahead for the consistent flavor we demand.

There is many an old patriarch still developing in a cask which may not be selected for years to come. It is this inventory, called a library, which lets us pick, choose, and give each bottle the taste you enjoyed last year and guarantee the one you will enjoy next. However, and whenever you enjoy it, we promise you our tradition of quality—one we will never change.



Careful blending is the secret of consistent flavor in our brandy

Brother Timothy, F.S.C.

Cellar Master, The Christian Brothers
Napa Valley, California

A FEW TIPS ON WHEN AND HOW TO SERVE OUR BRANDY

Custom once kept brandy in a snifter, but we make our brandy to be enjoyed in more informal ways. The light, smooth flavor mixes very well indeed. These are just a few of the many ways people are serving our brandy today.



On the rocks, or as a highball: The unique essence of the grape in The Christian Brothers Brandy is an elusive, more pleasant taste.

With coffee, or in coffee: Try Venetian Coffee (1 oz. brandy in a cup or glass of hot coffee; with sugar to taste; topped with whipped cream)—or a Mexican (1 part coffee liqueur with 2 parts brandy served over lots of cracked ice).

As a mixed drink: Our brandy is an excellent companion with fruit juices—especially as a base for a "Sour" A "Stranger" (1 part White Creme de Menthe, 2 parts brandy) is another favorite.

In recipes: Top vanilla or coffee ice cream with our brandy for an easy dessert; add it to fruit cakes and puddings—or try a tablespoon or two in sauces or gravies.

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matter of professional pride. It's also, let's say, a political choice, a form of advanced feminism

Q Here comes a brutal question

A Bravo! Go ahead, go ahead, pronounce it with love

Q Don't you actually relish war and conflict?

A No, war is a vomiting thing. It's a disgusting thing. I was curious to see the war [in Viet Nam]. When I did, I got a profound nausea. There is only one thing, that when the danger is over and nothing has happened to you, you feel twice alive. Every piece of you, your nose, your hair, everything feels alive and you are so surprised and excited. It's very exciting, that, nearly like being drunk... but I don't need war

Q I'm going to ask about your personal life. You aren't a lesbian, are you?

A Oh, my God! Oh, *mamma mia!* No, *scusa*, it's obvious I'm not a lesbian, but it's offensive to answer "No" because I feel guilty in something. My liberalism ends when we come to the queers and lesbians. I cannot stand them. And if I say it in a loud voice, they say I'm a fascist, a reactionary

Q Why are you so pessimistic about marriage, as you've been quoted?

A In a marriage there is always a *padrone*, a master, and it is not necessarily the man. I believe in freedom

Q We've read that you've suffered a great deal, that you've had three miscarriages, that you cannot have children. Is that true?

A I never said that. This was attributed to me by a dishonest woman journalist [New York Times Reporter Judy Klemesrud, who insists that Fallaci admitted to the miscarriages]. I was speaking about my new book—*Letter to a Child Never Born*—and the beauty and curse of being able to become a mother, and that you die a little less if you leave a child. I tried to put it in this very poetic way, and then she says, "So, you had three miscarriages!" She was big turd

Q Then it isn't true?

A No

Q Do you hope to have a child?

A Yes. I still hope. No, no, I have lost all the children I wanted to have. And this book comes from personal experience, of course. It would be idiotic to deny that. Look, it's another issue like lesbianism. I've never had an abortion in my life. But I can't say so, because if I do, I'll be accused of taking sides with the priests

Q Finally, if you were to be convinced that God exists and you were to interview him, what would you ask?

A At! At! Here, really, I can only answer with some verses of my friend [Greek Resistance Leader] Alexander Panagoulis. It's a poem that says

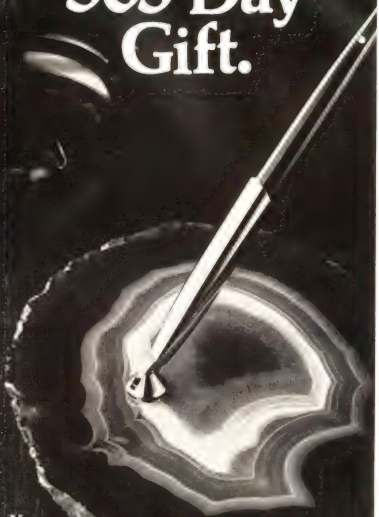
I didn't understand. God

Tell me again

Should I thank you

Or forgive you?

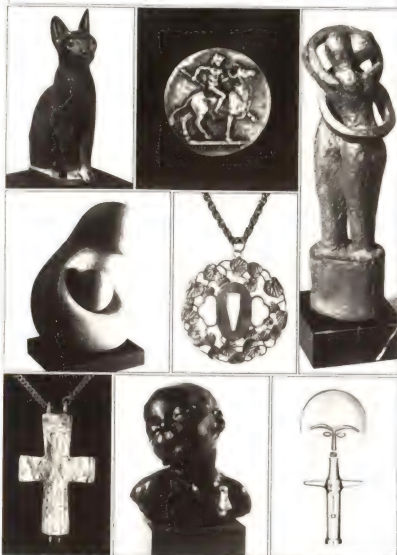
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RENAISSANCE CUFF LINKS Gold electroplated 1 1/2" diam. Replica authorized by National Gallery of Art \$8.00 (pair) postpaid *Top center*

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MOTHER AND CHILD By Walter Hannula (contemporary) 8¾" high. Private Collection.
Alvastone® \$500; bronze \$1,000; marble oil

SWORD GUARD PENDANT: Gold electroplated with chrys. Japanese 3" diam. Replica authorized by Philadelphia Museum of Art. 4 1/2" long portrait. Center.

RELICUARY CROSS Gold encrusted with enamel. Byzantine. 2 1/2" high. Repaired, authorized by Rhode Island State of Discovery. See also *Antiques*, *Antiques*, *Antiques*.

*HEAD OF A BABY. By Jakes Anne Daley. 9" high. Replica authorized by Washington County Museum of Fine Arts. Abstract, 1972. www.washingtoncountymuseum.org

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TO ORDER BY MAIL

Married. Linda Black, 27, daughter of Shirley Temple Black, U.S. Ambassador to Ghana; and Roberto Falaschi, first secretary of the Italian embassy in Ghana and son of Italy's Ambassador to Uganda; in Woodside, Calif.

Died. Walter Felsenstein, 74, director of East Berlin's Komische Oper since 1947, of cancer, in East Berlin. One of the century's most influential opera impresarios, Vienna-born Felsenstein was a demanding perfectionist who sometimes rehearsed for 36-hour stretches. Once, when a reluctant chorus member declined to jump from a 7-ft-high perch, Felsenstein made the leap, broke his arm and returned 45 minutes later waving his cast and demanding "Now will you jump?" Felsenstein retained his Austrian citizenship and commuted daily from his home in West Berlin to the East, where he turned the Komische Oper into the Communist regime's leading cultural ornament.

Died. Herbert W. Christenberry, 71, U.S. district judge in New Orleans, died of an apparent heart attack, in Kentwood, La. Christenberry, who had been U.S. Attorney in his native New Orleans for five years, was appointed to the bench in 1947 by President Harry S. Truman. In the years since then, he made a number of pioneering rulings in civil rights cases, including a 1966 order forcing school integration in Plaquemines Parish, La., one of the longest Deep South holdouts against federal desegregation laws.

Died. May Sutton Bundy, 88, early U.S. tennis star who won the single tournament at Wimbledon in 1905 and again in 1907, becoming the first of 1 American women to capture the venerable English championship; of cancer in Santa Monica, Calif.

Died. Julia Grant Cantacuzene, 95, granddaughter of President Ulysses S. Grant; in Washington, D.C. The daughter of Grant's oldest son, Major General Frederick D. Grant, Julia was a blonde brunette beauty of 22 when she met a dashing Russian prince, Michael Cantacuzene, during a holiday in Rome in 1899. They were married that fall and set up housekeeping on his 80,000-acre estate in the Ukraine, but the idyl ended suddenly in 1917 when the Bolshevik revolution forced them to flee to the U.S.—she with her jewels, including the ring of an Empress of Byzantium, and five oil paintings concealed in her skirts. Back in her native Washington, the princess eventually divorced the prince, who died in 1955 and lived out her years as an outspoken champion of the G.O.P. and one of the capital's more spirited hostesses.

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Video in the Round

Can current television sets be equipped to play recorded programs that could be purchased and stored like so many hi-fi discs? Manufacturers have been competing for a decade to be first to provide a practical answer. Trouble is, both videotapes and films are too expensive to produce for the mass market. Standard long-playing records which can be stamped out by the millions, cannot carry all of the information necessary to produce TV images and sounds; millions of electrical signals are required every second to create a TV picture.

Major Movies. Almost simultaneously, scientists in the U.S. and Europe have finally overcome the problem by combining the information capacity of videotape with the low cost of phonograph records. Their electronic hybrid is called the video disc—a relatively inexpensive record that can be played through a TV set to show everything from major Hollywood movies to educational and cultural features. By the end of 1976, both RCA and a team composed of the N.V. Philips Co. in The Netherlands and MCA, the California entertainment conglomerate, plan to market their systems in the U.S.

At first glance, RCA's SelectaVision and Philips-MCA's Disco-Vision look virtually identical. Both systems use 12-in. LP-sized discs that play for 30 minutes* on a side on high-speed turntables. Each is connected to the standard TV set by simply attaching a pair of wires to the antenna leads. There the similarities end. Behind the systems are

*A ten-minute disc system is already being sold in Europe by Teldec, a joint venture of West Germany's Telefunken and Britain's Decca companies. There are no plans to sell it in the U.S.

entirely different technologies: the records used by one cannot be played on the turntables of the other.

RCA's engineers opted for a relatively simple turntable. A major innovation is the metal-coated record, which is covered with a spiral groove only 0.00018 in. wide—less than a tenth as thick as a human hair. In ordinary LPs, the groove encodes the sound; as the pickup needle runs over its "hills and dales," the needle is forced to vibrate at the same frequencies as the recorded sound. Translated into electrical pulses and amplified, the vibrations drive the loudspeaker. By contrast, RCA's SelectaVision does not depend on mechanical vibrations. The disc's groove serves only to guide a sapphire stylus over a series of irregularly spaced slots in the groove. The slots are so small (up to 84,000 per in.) that they must be etched into the master disc by an extremely fine, high-powered beam of electrons. Yet variations in the width and spacing of the slots contain all the information necessary to reproduce a program in color (with stereo sound if desired). As the record spins at 450 r.p.m., a metallic strip on the back of the stylus "reads" the constantly changing electrical capacitance—a measure of the capacity to hold an electrical charge—between the stylus and the disc's slotted surface. The varying capacitance is electronically transformed into picture and sound.

Philips-MCA has taken a different approach. Its aluminum-coated, plastic record, stamped from a master disc that has been etched by a laser beam, is covered with billions of microscopic pits. Variations in pit size encode the video and sound messages. For playback, a sharply focused beam from a low-power (one-thousandth of a watt) helium-neon laser scans the disc as it whirls

around at 1,800 r.p.m. The laser beam flickers as it is reflected from the record's pocked surface, and the flicker is detected by a photosensitive cell, like that used in photographic exposure meters, which in turn converts it into electrical impulses that are changed into image and sound.

With its simpler turntable, RCA hopes to keep costs down to \$400 for its player, vs. a projected price of \$500 for the Philips-MCA machine. Moreover, the RCA records will be usable on both sides for a full hour's playing time, whereas the Philips-MCA disc plays on only one. On the other hand, the Philips-MCA system needs no stylus; its disc, scanned only by light, should have an indefinite lifetime. RCA's stylus wears as it makes contact with the discs and must be replaced every 300 hours (estimated; cartridge cost, \$10); the discs also wear out after some 300 plays.

Philips-MCA's laser system has an added attraction. By letting the laser beam circle over the same portion of track, the player can freeze a single frame (it takes one revolution to make one picture). It can also run the images in slow motion and even go backward, with only the push of a button—all potentially valuable features for educational programs. Each competitor is convinced that its approach is superior. But about one point there is no disagreement: either system could signal a major change in home entertainment habits.

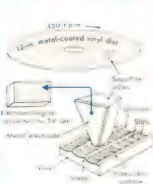
The First Suez Canal?

While studying aerial photographs of the Nile Delta after their country's 1967 conquest of the Sinai, Israeli geologists noticed soil markings that were clearly vestiges of two dried-up waterways. One was quickly identified as a

WATCHING DISPLAY OF TELEVISION DISC SYSTEM

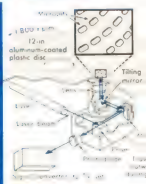


TV FROM A DISC



RCA SELECTAVISION

Contact stylus tracks information in disc by detecting changes in capacitance. Signal from stylus is electronically converted to TV signal.



PHILIPS-MCA DISCO-VISION

Laser beam is deflected by prism and mirror to lens. Focused onto micro pits in the disc. Modulated light bounces back to photo diode which produces electronic information for TV signal converter.



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SCIENCE

silted offshoot of the Nile River called the Pelusiac branch (after the ancient city of Pelusium at its mouth). The nature of the other waterway baffled the geologists until they visited the area and found man-made embankments. With that, they realized that these old mounds marked the route of a remarkable ancient canal that predated the Suez Canal by as many as 4,000 years.*

From its Mediterranean terminus at Pelusium, the so-called Eastern Canal



probably headed south for ten miles, veered across what is now the Suez Canal near the town of Qantara, and approached Lake Timsah near Ismailia, where old canal remnants have previously been found. Though wind, sand and irrigation works have wiped out much of the canal's course, Geologists Amihai Sneh, Tuvia Weissbrod and Itamar Perath hint at an intriguing possibility: the waterway may have split in two, one branch following a great east-west depression called Wadi Tumilat to link with the Nile, the other continuing south into the Red Sea along a route that became part of a canal system later built by the Persian conqueror Darius.

The old waterway probably ranged in depth from 7 ft. to 10 ft., adequate for ancient barges, but the embankments were 200 ft. apart, much wider than necessary for the water traffic of that day. The Israeli scientists think they know why. Writing in *American Scientist*, they point out that a wide channel would have made it an effective barrier against invaders from the east, a constant threat to ancient Egypt. In addition, it would have provided essential irrigation water. Could the ancient Egyptians have built such a great canal? Yes, say the geologists. After all, hundreds of years earlier the Egyptians had already tackled another project of comparable magnitude: the construction of their first pyramids.

*A date based on references in old chronicles

Still Able to Surprise

Of all the hundreds of exhibitions put together by the curators of the Great American art boom (circa 1962-73), not one tried to give an account of what was being painted in Europe. The reason, as everyone "knew," was that European art no longer mattered. Paris was over; London, a village; only New York had a hammer lock on history. This eminently questionable belief, fathered by chauvinism and fed by the largest promotional apparatus in the history of art, lay at the root of American art politics in the '60s and formed the taste of a generation of museumgoers. Now the retreat is on. An exhibition called "European Painting in the '70s" opened last week at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. It is the first show of its kind to appear in an American museum since, believe it or not, 1959. Ably organized by Curator Maurice Tuchman, it consists of 65 paintings by 16 artists. The show will travel to the St. Louis Art Museum in the spring of 1976, and to the Elvehjem Art Center in Madison, Wis., in the summer—but not to New York.

It is, of course, impossible to find 16 artists who could represent the full range of style and preoccupation in European art, so Tuchman has restricted his choice mainly to figurative paintings by "loners"—artists who, for one reason or another, have not closely identified themselves with particular groups or movements. Some of the work is familiar to a U.S. audience: the sumptuous paranoia of Francis Bacon's images (*TIME*, April 7) basking like altarpieces behind their glittering shields of glass and gold leaf; the cool, infrangible poise of David Hockney's still lifes and portraits. Pierre Alechinsky, the Belgian painter, is represented by a group of delectably complex, exuberant paintings, swarming with organic life like microscope slides rendered in calligraphy. There is a group of *Sobretexims* by the 82-year-old Joan Miró, hangings woven from thick knotted clumps of rope, charred and then painted with undiminished vitality.

At the other extreme, some of the artists are completely unknown in the U.S.: for example, a Dutch eccentric named Anton Heyboer, who lives with three women in a small dark barn north of Amsterdam and, the catalogue gravely assures us, "is timeless and unconscious, like an animal." Heyboer's life may have the gray neuralgic minimality of a character in Beckett, and the paintings—schematic outline figures scrawled on a white ground—look negligible. Quite different is the work of a Frenchman, Jean-Olivier Hueloux, who has developed a technique of such extreme verisimilitude as to make nearly

all U.S. photo-realism seem clumsy and generalized. His favorite subject is, of course, *nature morte*: French graveyards, with their raked gravel, their caked black granite brought to a patent-leather gloss, their iconography of morose kitsch. Hueloux paints them down to the last molecule and the result is a form of trompe l'oeil that contrives to be both meditative and irritating, done with delicacy of touch that defies analysis.

Irony and Narrative. Next to Miró and Dubuffet, the oldest painter in the show is Jean Helion. Having been one of the leading abstract artists in France before the wars, Helion returned to figurative painting in 1947. "I looked through my studio window," he recalls, "and I found that the outside world was more beautiful than my picture." He is now 71 and at the height of his powers. What pervades his paintings is a wry and original sense of human stance and gesture under the cubist planes of the surface, a marked appetite for the sensuality of commonplace things. "A cabbage is a magnificent rose, which is green, which costs one franc a kilo, and which one eats." This generosity about the physical world pervades even a nominally "sinister" Helion like *Exorciste*, 1973 (see color page): the chair draped with clothes, its legs stuck into shoes suggests some kind of rural witchcraft, but the sliced pumpkin is as replete with life as a Rubens backside.

There are few parallels in U.S. painting for most of the work in this show. The preoccupations are not the same. Nobody else, for instance, can bring off the mixture of lavish Matissean color, literary irony and veiled narrative—like disconnected stills from a French film—from which R.B. Kitaj, in such works as *Malta* (1974), constructs a new form of history-painting. There is no American equivalent to the edgy handling (nightmare as literature, so to speak) in paintings by the Italian Valerio Adami. But the difference especially comes out in "domestic" figurative painting, which seems more complex and problematical—more difficult of approach—in Europe than in America. Hence the extraordinary flavor of the nudes and portraits by Lucien Freud, the 52-year-old grandson of Sigmund: more psychic territory, crossed in Freud's scrutiny of a few square inches of worn flesh than one might find in a whole roomful of recent American realism. A similar process happens in Avigdor Arikha's tenacious and diffident still lifes. They are small monuments to the difficulty of naming any object. And like many of the other works in this show, they testify that painting as a form of expression is still wide open, still able to surprise us—dead (as it is fashionable to think) but living in Europe.

Robert Hughes

PRIVATE COLLECTION, BELGIUM

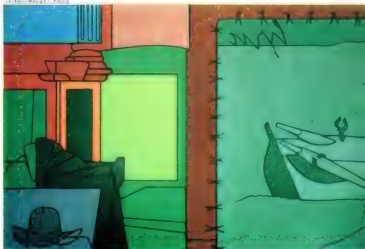


R.B. Kitaj's "Malta," 1974



Jean Hélion's "Exorcism," 1973

VALERIO ADAMI, ROME



Valerio Adami's "The Screen," 1974

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MONEY

Hopes for a New Stability

One of the most serious threats to the nation's growing business recovery has been the possibility of a continuing rise in interest rates that would discourage borrowing by businessmen and consumers, weaken the stock market and abort a barely begun revival of the housing industry. Last week, however, a consensus formed among experts that a three-month upswing in credit costs is ending, and that interest rates are expected to hold steady, or even inch down. For example, James J. O'Leary, vice chairman of New York's United States Trust Co., now predicts that the bank prime rate on loans to business will hold steady at around its present 8%, at least until the end of this year, rather than rising to 8½% as he had once expected. His reason: The Federal Reserve Board "appears to be in the early stages of a moderate easing" of its recent tightened money policies.

As always, the Federal Reserve, which believes that it must operate in the deepest secrecy, refused to confirm that idea. Asked pointblank whether the board was in fact feeding a bit more lendable money into the nation's banking system, inscrutable Chairman Arthur Burns rumbled, "I couldn't answer that—I'm a central banker." But evidence of a slight loosening of Federal Reserve policy had already surfaced. Little more than a week ago, in an effort to calm jitters in the credit markets caused by the bankruptcy petition of W.T. Grant Co. (TIME, Oct. 13) and New York City's continuing financial crisis, the board pumped about \$800 million into the banking system by buying federal securities. The proceeds were deposited in banks and had the effect of increasing bank reserves, giving the banks more money to lend and weakening upward pressure on interest rates.

Lowest Level. Evidence of a more liberal policy came last week from the board's actions on so-called Federal Funds—that banks lend to each other overnight. The interest rate on such loans is heavily influenced by the Federal Reserve's purchases or sales of Government securities. The board often uses the Fed Funds rate to signal its intentions on money supply; it will let the rate rise to show a tightening, permit it to fall in order to flash a sign of expansion. At one point last week, the board let the Fed Funds rate fall to 5.875%, the lowest level in two months, before it moved to nudge the rate up again. Last week the rate averaged 6.06%, down from 6.36% the week before.

Outside the money markets, these

might seem less than earthshaking events. But the prospect of steady interest rates already is heartening. On the stock market, which is hurt by rising interest rates, the Dow Jones industrial average rose 10.70 last week, to a close of 823.91. In the bond market, a \$200 million offering of 33-year debentures by Michigan Bell Telephone sold briskly at a 9.6% interest rate, a smidgen below the 9.7% rate on a Bell System issue on Sept. 17. Rates at auctions of three-month Treasury bills, a bellwether of the market for short-term money, have fluctuated between 6½% and 6¾% for the past three weeks and are not likely to move above that range soon.

If indeed the Federal Reserve is moving to a more liberal position, its action comes none too soon. While there are many and confusing ways of calculating money supply, by one measure it has recently been growing at an annual rate of 1.6%. In the two weeks ended Oct. 1, the nation's money supply actually declined. If that trend were to continue, efforts by businessmen and consumers to borrow more money than lenders had available would push interest rates higher. One probable result: a greater flow of money out of savings and loan associations, which supply a huge chunk of the mortgage money for new homes, into Government securities and other investments that yield higher interest rates than the savings banks and S and Ls can legally pay. The nation's mutual savings banks lost an estimated \$300 million worth of deposits in September, vs. a net gain of \$10 million in August.

There is no sign at all that Burns, who believes that a rapid growth of money supply would be inflationary, has changed his basic target: an increase of 5% to 7½% a year in the U.S. money supply. But the Federal Reserve must become more liberal than it has been lately in order to achieve even that modest goal. Such a policy will not mollify Burns' numerous and vehement critics, who judge a faster increase necessary to meet the needs of a growing economy. Recently, for instance, some Congressmen accused Burns of trying in effect to repeal the tax cuts legislated by Congress this year, by increasing the money supply so slowly as to cancel out their expansionary impact. If the Federal Reserve at least puts out enough money to keep interest rates stable, it will ease one of the worst fears dogging the recovery.



FEDERAL RESERVE CHAIRMAN ARTHUR BURNS

BOND TRADERS BID FRANTICALLY IN NEW YORK



AIRLINES

No Cheers for Decontrol

President Ford, who has been drawing ringing cheers from audiences of businessmen by promising to get the Government "off your back," took a first step last week toward making good on his rhetoric. He sent to Congress a plan to loosen greatly federal control of airlines—the tightly regulated industry

with the aim of introducing enough new competition to lower fares significantly. The response to this plan could not have been more different from that to Ford's speeches: airline executives forecast disaster if the President's proposed reforms ever go fully into effect, and critics predicted, probably accurately, that Congress would never approve the whole package.

At present the Civil Aeronautics Board approves fares, determines routes and decides which lines will be permitted to fly where in the U.S. That system has been denounced as a breeder of inefficiency among airlines because it shelters them from aggressive competition. Ford branded the setup "protectionist. Key parts of his plan

► Airlines would be permitted to raise fares as much as 10% in any one year, or cut them up to 20% in each of the first two years that the plan was in operation, without getting CAB approval.

► Supplemental airlines, now engaged mostly in charter business, could expand into flying scheduled routes, and companies that wanted to start new airlines would be encouraged to do so, on routes of their own choice, if they were "fit, willing and able" to fly.

► Starting in 1981 airlines could expand their route networks 5% to 10% a year by starting flights to cities that they do not now serve, without CAB O.K.

► The CAB would be forbidden to approve any deal among airlines that would reduce competition, such as the agreements between lines to cut back schedules jointly.

Most airline executives were aghast.

Said Trans World Airlines Chairman Charles C. Tillinghast Jr., in a burst of metaphor mixing, "The current regulatory system has served this country well, and before we play Russian roulette with it, we should make doubly sure that the cure proposed is not worse than the disease." The Air Transport Association, meeting in Washington, called the President's proposals "misconceived."

The airlines' central fear is that while they would be exposed to new competition on their most desirable routes, they would be forced to continue flying to many cities that do not generate enough traffic to be profitable. In theory the proposed law would give them greater freedom to drop as well as add routes: as many as 50,000 intercity connections could be endangered. But the carriers simply do not believe that Congress will ever give them authority to drop unprofitable flights in any major way; each of the cities that might lose airline service can put pressure on a Congressman to stop that from happening. Meanwhile the lines fear that a host of new carriers would jump into such heavily traveled routes as New York to Miami or Chicago to Los Angeles—especially since the CAB could no longer require them to extend service to less central points as a condition for getting into the big markets. The result, the lines believe, is that some present carriers would be forced to apply for federal subsidy—scarcely what Ford intends—to keep from going broke. Scott Browne, former CAB chairman and now a professor at MIT, says nationalization could result from the process.

There is reason to believe too that airline fares in general would go up instead of down under Ford's plan, at least at first. Some lines might be encouraged to introduce more promotional and discount fares like the no-frills service started by National. Besides, the airlines are already in financial trouble. Eastern's latest report shows an eight-month loss of \$2.9 million, while TWA went \$86 million into the red during the same period. Fuel and labor costs are rising.

Wall Street analysts expect the airlines to use any new rate-setting freedom to push up the general level of fares.

Such arguments can be expected to weigh heavily with Congress, where the airlines have an effective lobby. In introducing Ford's plan Transportation Secretary William Coleman Jr. said that the Administration has "a case good enough and persuasive enough that when Congress listens, they will accept our point of view." But there were indications that the Administration was offer-



A MAJOR OFFICE-BUILDING COMPLEX IN ATLANTA

Links that raise some intriguing questions

ing the plan for image building purposes, anticipating its defeat. Deputy Undersecretary John Snow gives the decontrol plan only one chance in three or four of being accepted.

ANTITRUST

Unlocking Interlocks

During the past year or two, federal trustbusters have gone after some of the biggest names in U.S. business. Antitrust suits are now in various stages of litigation against several giants, including A.T. & T., IBM, Firestone, Xerox, and the big three in the rental-car field: Hertz, Avis and National. Last week the Justice Department turned its attention to some of the biggest banks and insurance companies, charging that they too are in violation of U.S. antitrust laws.

At issue are interlocking directorates—arrangements under which a director of one company serves simultaneously on the board of another. Interlocking directorates among competing firms have been forbidden since 1914 by Section 8 of the Clayton Antitrust Act. Yet the Justice Department suspects that as many as 400 banks and insurance companies may share directors. Its two civil suits filed last week name the Prudential Insurance Company of America, in Newark, the nation's largest insurance company, which is on its board a director of the San Francisco-based Bank of America, the largest U.S. bank, and another from New York headquartered Bankers Trust Co. The suits further named three directors of San Francisco's Crocker National Bank, who also sit on the boards of Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States and the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York (MONY). The Justice Department charged that these arrangements are illegal.

The cases raise some questions of antitrust law. To begin with, the Clayton

SHARING COOKIES ON A NATIONAL "NO FRILLS" FLIGHT





LANDMARK PROJECT OWNED BY MONY
about antitrust law.

Antitrust Act specifically prohibits sharing of directors between banks, but for 61 years it has been interpreted as not applying to links between the boards of banks and nonbanking firms. Now the Justice Department is saying that it does. To the defendants, this sudden new interpretation of the law seems very tenuous and unwarranted, and they intend to fight. Prudential refused to sign a consent order, and no company plans to fire its shared directors.

Another issue is an ancient one in antitrust law: under what circumstances can two companies be judged "competitors"? To most of their customers, banks and insurance companies may not seem to compete; not only are their main businesses different but they make different types of investments. Insurance companies, for example, sometimes buy buildings, like the Landmark office complex in Atlanta, owned by MONY, a practice uncommon to banks. The Government nonetheless argues, with some justice, that banks and insurers do compete. Both make mortgage loans, and both manage pension funds. In making loans to corporations, banks have traditionally concentrated on loans of five years or less; insurance companies on loans of 15 years or more. Recently, however, both banks and insurance companies have been making more intermediate-term (three- to ten-year) loans.

Gourmet Food. The Government has won interlocking-directorate cases on slimmer evidence. Several years ago, it won a ruling that R. H. Macy & Co., Inc., the New York-based department-store chain, and Safeway Stores, Inc., now the nation's biggest supermarket group, could not share a director because Macy's sold gourmet foods. If the Government can establish a precedent that ties between banks and nonbank companies are subject to the law, and that banks and insurance companies compete, it can be expected to launch more suits. It might contend that the same person cannot serve as a director of a bank and oil company because both issue credit cards.

What would that accomplish for the consumer who has a savings account, an insurance policy and a credit card? Hardly anything, say critics of the Government's action. If a bank and an insurance company want to conspire, say, to fix interest rates on loans, they can do it without having the same person serve as a director of both. On the other hand, insurance companies in particular have been anxious to put bankers on their boards, claiming that the bankers have more expert knowledge of what loans are wise; prohibiting the practice, they say, would deny policyholders the benefits of shared financial expertise. That contention points up the greatest problem for federal trustbusters. They deeply believe that concentrations of economic power injure everyone, but, as the antitrust laws are now written, they find themselves frequently unable to do more than take potshots at giant companies on peripheral issues.

AUTOS

The Bricklin Bombs

It always seemed like a foolhardy venture: Malcolm Bricklin, 36, an unconventional millionaire from Philadelphia who sometimes wore Indian beads, thought he could start an auto-manufacturing business from scratch. To the surprise of many, Bricklin, who had made his original fortune running hardware stores, actually acquired two plants in Canada's New Brunswick province and started making his unconventional Bricklin cars. Now two secured creditors and the New Brunswick government, which had put up more than \$20 million in cash and loan guarantees to

obtain 67% control of Bricklin Canada Ltd., have placed the company in receivership, closing the plants. Bricklin himself proclaimed last week at a press conference in Toronto that "the Bricklin car will continue to be built in New Brunswick." That sounded like whistling in the dark—especially since Bricklin had already gone into a Scottsdale, Ariz., court to declare himself personally bankrupt.

Safety Cage. Bricklin thought he could succeed by selling a car engineered primarily for safety. The Bricklin had retractable bumpers designed to absorb collisions without damage at speeds up to ten miles per hour, roll bars that made the passenger compartment a kind of safety cage, and gull-wing doors that opened by swinging up and out of the way of oncoming traffic. Those features were expensive: the car's price rose from about \$8,000 in 1974 to \$10,000 this year. Bricklin tried to give the car flash as well as safety appeal: he made only one model, a sleek sports car.

However, nothing went quite right with the car from the start. The two plants, which employed 600 people, were expected to produce 12,000 vehicles a year; but over the Bricklin's entire production run, beginning in August 1974, they turned out only 3,000 cars—most of them exported to the U.S. One trouble was that the Bricklin's gull-wing doors were electrically operated—and sealed in passengers if the battery ran dead. Some Bricklins arrived at dealers' with missing parts and simply could not be sold. Deliveries to Bricklin's 400 dealers were slow and erratic.

The receiver, Clarkson Co. Ltd., an accounting firm, will determine over the next several weeks whether the compa-



ENTREPRENEUR BRICKLIN (TOP) & HIS CAR, ON SALE IN DETROIT



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ny can be reorganized. The odds on the Bricklin car rising Phoenix-like, however, are poor. Bricklin claimed last week to have lined up more than \$10 million from new U.S. investors, and earnestly solicited an additional \$10 million to \$15 million from the New Brunswick provincial and Canadian federal governments. But Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's administration is cutting its budget to attack inflation and is in no mood to boost new spending. New Brunswick's Progressive Conservative premier, Richard Hatfield, is under heavy political fire for putting taxpayers' money into the company in the first place. Malcolm Bricklin is facing the harsh reality that his car is turning out to be something like a new Edsel, which cynics always thought it would be.

SCANDALS

Bunge Cops a Plea

The much publicized grain robbery that has plagued the nation's export shipments in recent years has resulted in indictments of 52 individuals and four corporations. Last week one of the nation's largest grain exporters, Bunge Corp., became the first of those companies to accept the judicial consequences. Bunge, a privately held firm, pleaded no contest to a federal charge that it had for almost twelve years, until June 1973, shortweighted ship cargoes at its two grain elevators in Destrehan, La., and Galveston, Texas. The company also offered no defense against a charge that it used false invoices to market surreptitiously to U.S. companies every three or four months up to 25,000 bushels of the leftover grain—in effect stolen from foreign customers.

Bunge suffered only a light penalty: the federal district court in New Orleans fined it \$20,000. As part of an unusual plea-bargaining arrangement, Bunge agreed to allot \$2 million to \$3 million of its own money over a three-year period to hire more inspectors for its elevators, and pay for additional auditors, independent certified public accountants and an outside compliance consultant. U.S. Attorney Gerald J. Gallinhouse called the Bunge program one of "the most important steps that can be taken toward cleaning up the crime in the grain industry."

The settlement does not affect the cases of 13 Bunge employees, eight of whom have pleaded guilty to theft or related charges. Bunge still faces possible civil suits from the Government, its customers and transportation companies. Meantime, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Internal Revenue Service, the Department of Agriculture, several congressional committees and the General Accounting Office continue to probe into the scandal. Their investigations are expected to lead to more corporate indictments.

HONG KONG

Trouble in the Hongs

Hong Kong's traditions of complete laissez-faire and growth without ruinous inflation have given it a reputation as one of the world's most lucrative—and safest—havens for investment. Now that reputation is being tarnished: for the first time in memory, one of the colony's famed hongs (trading companies) is struggling to avert financial collapse. The endangered hong is Hutchison International, Ltd., a conglomerate with a labyrinthine network of more than 350 subsidiaries and affiliates, including diamond merchants, earth movers, fashion boutiques and a mailorder business that deals in food, fowl and live animals.

Hutchison was built in taipan (big boss) style by Sir Douglas Clague, a 59-year-old Rhodesia-born Englishman. Under his aegis the company boosted profits from \$3 million in 1969 to \$27 million



HUTCHISON'S WILLIAM WYLLIE

in 1973, mainly by buying up other companies at a headlong pace. To pay for them, it floated no fewer than ten stock issues in three years, ballooning the number of shares outstanding from 13 million in 1971 to 269 million in May of this year. Between mid-1973 and last December, however, a crash on the Hong Kong Stock Exchange and declining confidence in Hutchison wiped out nearly 90% of the value of those shares. Clague was unable to continue tapping the stock market for capital.

Hutchison's woes were further aggravated by the recession—a slump in exports depressed its revenues—and by its inability to manage its subsidiaries. The firm's principal lender, the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corp., began to apply gentlemanly persuasion to straighten Hutchison out. In August the bank agreed to pump \$30 million into the company in return for 150 million newly created shares of its stock—on condition that Clague give way to a bank-picked successor. That ultimatum prompted Clague to make a last-ditch effort to raise capital from European banks. He failed.

Defeated, Clague last month moved out of his plush offices at the 24-story Hutchison House on Hong Kong's waterfront. His bank-picked successor is Conglomerate Rescue Artist William Wyllie, a four-man caretaker team, in consultation with Wyllie, has moved to sell off some of Hutchison's holdings. To raise \$5 million, they peddled an 18% interest in a British investment firm. Company insiders expect that a commercial helicopter subsidiary may be sold off or folded, while management control of a merchant banking affiliate will be divested. Hutchison has also been selling off shares of other companies from its investment portfolio at a feverish pace, so confusing its books that accountants



CLAGUE WITH RACE HORSE IN PALMIER DAYS
A headlong rush to buy up other firms.

cannot even produce a sales estimate for 1974. Wyllie, a 43-year-old Australian-born millionaire with a reputation as a cost cutter, will not formally take over Hutchison's management until Nov. 1. But he has already seen enough to conclude that "there probably aren't 50 subsidiaries that are worth a damn."

Hutchison's designated savior rejects any suggestion that the root cause of the company's trouble is Hong Kong's free-wheeling atmosphere. Says Wyllie, "Hong Kong is still a place where you can make money freely and legitimately and, what's more, you can keep it." As for Hutchison, he adds: "Once we have stopped to take a breath, then the growth can start again"—presumably from a drastically shrunken base.



ROBERT GRAVES



RUPERT BROOKE



SIEGFRIED SASSOON

Naming the Unnameable

THE GREAT WAR AND MODERN MEMORY

by PAUL FUSSELL

363 pages. Oxford. \$13.95.

Everyone knows war changes culture; but it is hard to say how, since war is culture. From the mid-'30s, war has been so continuous and "normal" a state of society that we find it awkward, even impossible, to detach it from our unconscious assumptions about literature and its workings. Hence the value of this extraordinary and moving book by Paul Fussell, a Rutgers University professor. There is, he argues, a peculiarly modern consciousness of war. It began in the trenches of France in 1914, and it has continued to affect writing ever since. Indeed, European culture—especially in England—was so affected by the Great War that modernism itself owes no small part of its existence to the trauma of the Western Front. "The dynamics and iconography of the Great War," Fussell claims, "have proved crucial political, rhetorical and artistic determinants. . . . At the same time the war was relying on inherited myth, it was generating new myth, and that myth is part of the fiber of our own lives."

Sweet Wine. A fault line had opened in history, and all that had been taken as normal vanished into its rumbling cleft. Total war of this kind was unknown to living memory in 1914. Gavril Princip's bullet in Sarajevo destroyed a peace so long and so continuous that every European had come to take it for granted, as a given part of the fabric of his or her life. Nobody in England, France or Germany, not even the generals, had any idea what trench warfare—the dominant reality of the Western Front—would be like. When it came, it was indefinable: hundreds of thousands of young men existing like stupefied moles in the badly shored-up gutters of mud and decaying flesh that zigzagged their way across France, driven toward the machine guns of Poperinghe or the Butte de Warlincourt by the abstract decisions of rigid or incompetent staff officers. At 7:30 a.m. on July 1, 1916, 110,000 English and Australian



BRITISH TROOPS IN FLANDERS (1917)

Fault line in history.

troops started walking toward the rusty thickets of German barbed wire along the Somme valley; a few hours later, 60,000 of them were dead or wounded, and the cries of abandoned men were heard rising from no man's land for days afterward. The Somme offensive was the greatest military slaughter in history. The Edwardian vocabulary of war, with its ritual chants of "sacrifice," "honor," "comradeship," "red/Sweet wine of youth" (meaning blood), was impotent to describe the massacre of a generation. Trench warfare was all the more incomprehensible because those who were in it had inherited a tradition of war as sport. Indeed, at the Somme attack, an officer named Nevill, of the 8th East Surreys, signaled the advance by kicking a football toward the German lines. He was killed at once, but other officers kept

dribbling their footballs across no man's land, earning a poetic encomium titled "The Game."

*On through the hail of slaughter,
Where gallant comrades fall,
Where blood is poured like water
They drive the trickling ball*

One of those footballs is now in a museum. The state of mind is gone forever. The sweet, class-bound innocence of such gestures now seems more distant than the moon, and madder than any war story in Pynchon or Heller.

Our remoteness springs, of course, from our situation—on the other side of the crisis of language that World War I provoked. In 1914, the existing imagery could not deal with the conflict. The war correspondents habitually lied or were censored. So the burden of description rested with the poets and writers in uniform. Rupert Brooke, the golden ingenu, might announce: "If I should die, think only this of me: That there's some corner of a foreign field That is for ever England." But for poets like Wilfred Owen, Herbert Read and Isaac Rosenberg, or writers like Siegfried Sassoon and Robert Graves, the trenches could not be quilted with these Georgian heroics. To read their writings about the war, almost 60 years later, is to observe two processes: how this unnameable suffering and waste were named, and how the imagery of war bequeathed to English writing the marks of a modernist sensibility—the sense of absurdity, disjunction and polarization, the loathing of duly constituted authorities, the despair and the irony.

The cratered battlefields, seen in 1915 as a 20th century realization of Bunyan's Slough of Despond, became in time the prototype of Eliot's *Wasteland*. The generation that perished between 1914 and 1918 was perhaps the last wholly literate generation of English-speaking men and, as Fussell shows in absorbing detail, they were imbued with a sense of national literature as today's soldiers are with the imagery of network TV. In the trenches, this heritage collided with the 20th century. The results were not always masterpieces. But their poignancy was immense. So is



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The clownish but dangerous emperor Commodus once shot a hundred bears during a single day's festivities. He also loved to compete as a gladiator—while

Roman senators, tearing for their lives, struggled to keep from laughing!



St. Ignatius, 2nd-century Bishop of Antioch, became the first Christian to die in the Colosseum. Persecution of Christians began under Nero in A.D. 64, and continued until 330, when Constantine made Christianity the official state religion.



Symmachus, a 4th-century Roman noble, sponsored a notably ill-fated series of gladiatorial games. Among other calamities, the German prisoners he had imported as gladiators strangled each other rather than die in the arena.



By the 19th century, the ruined Colosseum had become overgrown with more than 400 varieties of shrubs, weeds, and plants—some found nowhere else in Europe! The Italian archeologist Pietro Rosa finally received permission to strip the ruins bare in 1871.



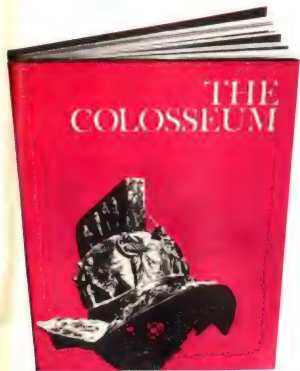
Nature and man have worked together to reduce the Colosseum to a ruin. Earthquakes sear parts of its massive masonry, crashing to the ground. The master architects of the Renaissance carried off many of its huge fallen stones to build the palaces and churches of Rome's present glory.

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BOOKS

their value as evidence. Nature poetry was interred in the mud of Flanders, and what emerged was something much more recognizable to us in its disillusion, like Edgell Rickwood's poet, reading to the corpse of a friend

*I racked my head
for healthy things and quoted Maud
[His grin got worse and I could see
he sneered at passion's purity
He stank so badly, though we were
great chums
I had to leave him, then rats ate his
thumbs]*

There are moments when Fussell's exuberant pursuit of myth becomes overwrought, as when he tries to attach an unwieldy mass of archetypal triads—the three-headed Cerberus to the Sibyl's tripod to the British army's habit of numbering off in threes. Such flashbacks of dottiness are, however, rare. What remains is a scrupulously argued and profoundly affecting account of what the Great War changed, and that was nearly everything, for the innocence lost in France was lost forever. There had been modern art before 1914, but not modern culture.

Robert Hughes

Notable

COMMEMORATIONS

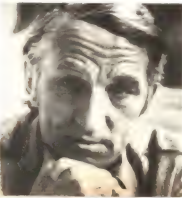
by HANS HERLIN

Translated by ERIC MOSBACHER
293 pages. St. Martin's Press, \$8.95.

When Hans Herlin, 49, resigned as managing editor of Molden, one of Germany's largest publishing houses, he wanted to write a novel about Nazi skeletons in the national closet. With questionable taste, he also hoped to make it "entertaining." The result is this slick, ambiguous thriller. Hans Pikola, 50-year-old world-weary photographer turned hit man, stalks the even more world-weary war criminal, Karl Boettcher. The motive, revealed through flashbacks, provides romantic interest, undertones of incest—plus a gloss of social commentary in the form of industrial conspiracy in a Krupp-like organization. Result: a first novel that was already a bestseller in Germany.

Commemorations is a much better book than it has any right to be. Almost despite himself, Herlin has managed to create an indelible cast of minor

HANS HERLIN



characters. Among the dozen subtly etched survivors are Pikola's estranged wife Thea, an alcoholic who was once "the most touchingly unsuccessful singer who ever appeared on stage to entertain German troops," and the narrator's father Ludwig, who earned his living during the war by printing postcards of soldiers who had won the Iron Cross. All the characters are revealed as victims, afflicted by memories of what they suffered or what they inflicted. But there is one more victim of this curious book: the author himself. Herlin's "entertaining" plot is a kind of strategy for evading the very horrors he has resurrected. The price for that evasion is the *Commemorations* that is, instead of the major novel that might have been

TERMS OF ENDEARMENT

by LARRY McMURTRY

410 pages. Simon & Schuster, \$9.95.

Houston-based Aurora Greenway, 49, is a transplanted New Englander and an AstroTurf widow. On the rebound from 24 years of marriage to the pallid Rudyard ("A plant could not have been easier to relate to, or less excit-



LARRY McMURTRY

ing"). Aurora gaily assembles and mistreats a colorful retinue of suitors including a retired general, an Italian tenor and a bashful oil millionaire who lives in his white Lincoln. She views their constant proposals of marriage skeptically. "Men have never distinguished themselves for sexual fidelity," she says. "The poor things have short attention spans."

Although Aurora's polished dialogue is not without wit, she never sounds much better than the star of a road-company *Importance of Being Earnest*. As he has demonstrated in novels like *The Last Picture Show*, Author McMurry feels most at home with Texas natives, and the odd characters who orbit around his highfalutin heroine regularly upstage her. In the book's best scene, for example, a jealous and not-too-bright husband tries to find his wife at the J-Bar Korral by driving through it in a truck. Aurora's plain, long-suffering daughter is as poignant as her mother is flashy, and her grim fate at the novel's end seems out of keeping with all the earlier slapstick. Yet McMurry's skill and compassion all but hide his incongruities



ROBERT B. PARKER

MORTAL STAKES

by ROBERT B. PARKER

172 pages. Houghton Mifflin, \$6.95.

A Boston Red Sox official suspects that Marty Rabb, the team's ace pitcher, may be throwing games as well as baseballs. He hires Spenser ("S-p-e-s-e-r, like the English poet"), a sleuth more skilled at cracking cash than cracking wise. His fee, Spenser announces, is the traditional "hundred day and expenses. But I'm running special this week: at no extra charge teach you how to weave a blackjacket. In spite of such feeble jocularities, Spenser easily gets the goods on the errand pitcher. The interesting trouble began when he suffers an attack of brotherly love and decides to save Rabb's career.

Mortal Stakes is Spenser's third caper, and Author Robert B. Parker (TIM Feb. 10) again proves to be a skillful blender of old formulas. Spenser and his booze, draft office and compliant women may be by Dashiell Hammett out of Raymond Chandler, but they are not whit less entertaining for all that. For the jaded, Parker also throws in sly literary allusions. Why else pilfer from William Blake to describe the "fear symmetry" of an apartment-house corridor? Parker's chief attribute this time out may be inspired timing. The 1990 Red Sox enjoyed that championship season. In less happy summers, the notion of the team intentionally losing games would have set off bitter laughter along the Charles

GROWING UP RICH

by ANNE BERNAYS

343 pages. Little, Brown, \$7.95.

Growing Up Rich is Anne Bernays' David Copperfield—with a contemporary difference. "The Seelye School was my blacking factory," says Sarah Agass, Stern, the plump, shy 14-year-old daughter of authentically beautiful people. Her mother, "Fippy" Baum, though "100% Jew, has a Scandinavian for a head, an Episcopalian nose, a Beverly Farms accent and a debutante slouch. Her stepfather Freddie is an intellectually aspiring publisher of books so tastefully erudite that no other firm would touch them. Freddie and Fippy assure Sarah that "a Seelye education is your passport to the world"—the immense

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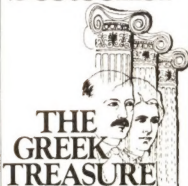
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ANNE BERNAYS

wealthy world, that is, of Upper East Side New York in 1948, a world whose only moral imperative is “Thou shalt not be tacky.” Born with a silver spoon in her cradle, Sarah does not want to measure out her life in “day after day of marzipan, silk velvet, Steuben glass and butterballs.”

Tragedy interrupts and redirects the process of simmering rebellion. Suddenly orphaned, Sarah is packed off to the polar opposite of her gilded world. In Brookline, Mass., she takes up a life of quiet desperation in the household of her guardian Sam London, an unkempt old radical who had served as her father's literary Svengali. The transition from *haut monde* to ghettoized middle class, from circumspect to unabashed Jewishness, is at first insupportable. But Sarah is gradually melted by the warmth that emanates from the Londons' hopelessly undisciplined kitchen. Her taste for veal Marsala and marzipan gives way to a yen for Butterfingers and pastrami, and this otherwise brilliantly written, hard-edged novel of adolescence ends with a long slide home. It is an oddly sentimental conclusion to a bitter book, and precisely the kind that Dickens would have approved.

Best Sellers

FICTION

- 1—*Ragtime*, Doctorow (1 last week)
- 2—*Looking for Mr. Goodbar*, Rosner (2)
- 3—*Shogun*, Clavell (3)
- 4—*Humboldt's Gift*, Bellows (5)
- 5—*The Eagle Has Landed*, Higgins (4)
- 6—*The Moneychangers*, Hailey (6)
- 7—*Curtain*, Christie (9)
- 8—*Cockpit*, Kosinski
- 9—*Circus*, Maclean (7)
- 10—*Centennial*, Michener (10)

NONFICTION

- 1—*Sylvia Porter's Money Book*, Porter (1)
- 2—*Winning Through Intimidation*, Ringer (2)
- 3—*Breach of Faith*, White (3)
- 4—*TM: Discovering Inner Energy and Overcoming Stress*, Bloomfield, Cain & Jaffe (4)
- 5—*Power*, Korda (7)
- 6—*Total Fitness*, Morehouse & Grass (5)
- 7—*Without Feathers*, Allen (6)
- 8—*The Save-Your-Life Diet*, Reuben
- 9—*Money*, Galbraith (10)
- 10—*The Ascent of Man*, Branowski (8)

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I probably enjoy it more. And
Salem is why. It's much more than just
a good menthol. It's a good cigarette.
With all the taste I like.

I enjoy smoking. I enjoy Salem.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

19 mg. "tar", 1.3 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette. FTC Report MAR. '75.